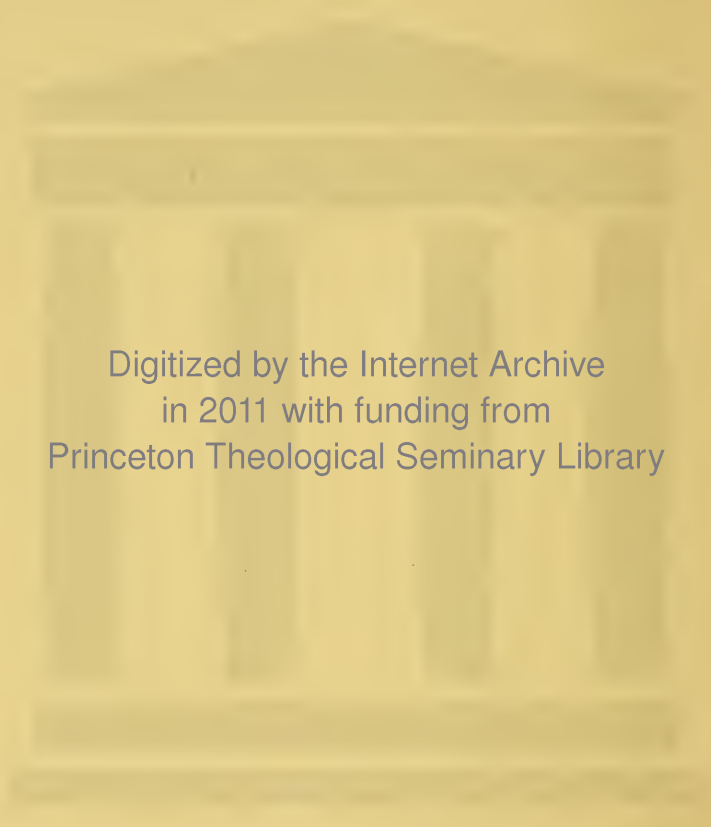


Division.....*500*  
Section.....*7862*  
No.....

For

Theological Seminary  
Princeton N.J.



Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2011 with funding from  
Princeton Theological Seminary Library







MEMORIAL

OF THE

SEMI-CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

✓  
AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

CELEBRATED AT WASHINGTON,

JANUARY 15, 1867.

WITH DOCUMENTS CONCERNING LIBERIA.

WASHINGTON:  
COLONIZATION SOCIETY BUILDING.

MDCCCLXVII.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

BOSTON :

CORNHILL PRESS, GEO. C. RAND & AVERY.

## P R E F A C E.

---

THE Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society, at their meeting holden at Washington, Jan. 17, 1866, appointed William V. Pettit, Esq., of Philadelphia, the Hon. D. S. Gregory, of New Jersey, the Rev. John Orcutt, D.D., one of the Secretaries of the Society, and William Tracy, Esq., of New York, "to act in co-operation with the Executive Committee, in making arrangements for the semi-centennial anniversary of the Society." In consultation with them, the Executive Committee made the arrangements according to which the exercises of the Fiftieth Annual Meeting of the Society, Jan. 15, 1867, were conducted.

At their meeting the next day, Jan. 16, 1867, the Board of Directors adopted resolutions, tendering their thanks to the several speakers who had addressed the Society the previous evening, and requesting copies of their addresses for publication; tendering thanks to the authors of the communications received from Liberia; directing that the proceedings of that evening be published in a volume, in suitable style, as a memorial of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Society; and requesting the Rev. Joseph Tracy, D.D., to take charge of and superintend the publication.



For the satisfaction of those who would understand Liberian mind and character, the editor has subjoined, in an appendix, the Declaration of Independence and Constitution of the Republic of Liberia, the Address of the Convention that formed the Constitution, the first Inaugural Address of its first President, and the last Annual Message of President Warner. The reader will readily perceive, in these documents, the results of much careful and successful study, but no servile imitation, of American State Papers of similar character. No candid man, after reading them, can doubt the capacity of colored men, with suitable training and experience, for the management of public affairs. The reader will notice with interest the difference in style, as the different occasions required, between President Warner's Address at the Annual Meeting and his Annual Message. That Address is printed from the author's elegant manuscript, with no correction except two or three evident slips of the pen. The others are reprints from Liberian printed copies.

There is also appended a list, complete so far as is known, of the names of all persons who have been authorized to act as chief magistrates in any of the colonies which now constitute the Republic of Liberia. Their dates have been given, so far as they could be ascertained. In the earlier stages of the enterprise, changes and vacancies from death, disease, and other causes, were frequent; communications were infrequent, and information, coming from agents worn down by sickness and labor, often imperfect and indefinite. Hence, appointments were sometimes made hypothetically, and the time of one

agent is partially or wholly included within that of another. Agents of the Government of the United States for the care of recaptured Africans had no authority, from that appointment, to act as agents of the Society, or magistrates of the Colony. Yet, by a mutual understanding, the agents of the Government and the Society appear to have performed each other's duties when necessary, and often the same person was appointed to both offices. The names of the Government's agents are therefore included in the list, but are distinguished by a different type. For similar reasons, the names of most of the physicians appointed and sent out in the earlier years of the Colony have been included.

And, finally, there is appended a table of emigrants settled in Liberia by the Society, with the year, month, and name of the vessel in which they sailed, and the State from which they emigrated. Were it desirable, this table might be enlarged, by giving the name, age, occupation, previous condition as bond or free, education, and religious profession, if any, of every emigrant; but the particulars given seem to be enough.

It will be observed that this table does not include Africans recaptured from slave-traders and sent to Liberia at the expense of the United States, though many of them were delivered into the care of the Society in American ports, and conveyed to Liberia in the Society's vessels.

In a work like this, a complete account, historical and statistical, of the Society and its Colony, could not be given. It is hoped, however, that the selection and treatment of topics is

such, that the careful and friendly reader will be able to understand and appreciate the general character of the enterprise in which the Society is engaged.

Thanks are due, and are cordially tendered, to the Hon. J. H. B. Latrobe, President of the Society, and to the Hon. G. Washington Warren, of the Board of Directors, for valuable suggestions and advice, and to William Coppinger, Esq., Corresponding and Recording Secretary, for facts ascertained by careful and laborious researches among ancient records and correspondence.

# CONTENTS.

---

	PAGE.
MINUTES OF THE FIFTIETH ANNUAL MEETING . . . . .	11
ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT LATROBE . . . . .	15
SELECTIONS FROM THE ANNUAL REPORT . . . . .	21
ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT WARNER . . . . .	37
DR. TRACY'S HISTORICAL DISCOURSE . . . . .	61
ADDRESS OF BISHOP CLARK . . . . .	105

## APPENDIX.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE . . . . .	129
CONSTITUTION OF LIBERIA . . . . .	133
INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT ROBERTS . . . . .	149
ANNUAL MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT WARNER . . . . .	162

CONTENTS.

viii

	PAGE.
CHIEF MAGISTRATES OF LIBERIA . . . . .	177
TABLE OF EMIGRANTS . . . . .	182
COST OF COLONIZATION . . . . .	191
ORIGINAL MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY . . . . .	192



M E M O R I A L

OF THE

SEMI-CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.



## MEMORIAL.

---

THE Fiftieth Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society was holden in Trinity Church, Washington, D.C., on Tuesday, January 15, 1867.

The Hon. J. H. B. Latrobe, of Maryland, President, called the meeting to order at thirty minutes past seven o'clock, P.M. At his request, the Rev. R. R. Gurley, Honorary Secretary, invoked the divine blessing.

The President, after a brief address, called for the Annual Report.

The Corresponding Secretary, William Coppinger, Esq., read portions of the Annual Report. He then presented an address, prepared for the occasion by His Excellency, Daniel B. Warner, President of the Republic of Liberia, and "Reflections on the Return of the Anniversary of the American Colonization Society," by Henry W. Johnson, Attorney and Counsellor at Law in that republic. These could not be read for want of time.

The Rev. Joseph Tracy, D.D., of Massachusetts, pre-

sented and read portions of a Historical Discourse on the Rise and Progress of the Society.

The Rt. Rev. Thomas M. Clark, D.D., of Rhode Island, delivered the Semi-centennial Address.

The Rev. John Maclean, D.D., of New Jersey, then pronounced the benediction, and the Society adjourned.

The addresses at the Annual Meeting are given in their order on the subsequent pages.

A D D R E S S

O F

HON. JOHN H. B. LATROBE.





# ADDRESS OF HON. JOHN H. B. LATROBE,

PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

---

*Members of the American Colonization Society,*

*Ladies and Gentlemen :*

IN calling the meeting to order, the Chair has not forgotten that the Fiftieth Anniversary of the American Colonization Society has been reached.

The Fiftieth Anniversary! Half a century of existence! And yet it seems but a few years since the speaker, then a mere schoolboy, attracted by the lights of a church in Georgetown, peered at nightfall upon a meeting which Francis S. Key was addressing, and where, in all probability, Mercer and Clay and Randolph and Harper and Caldwell and Worthington were present. Dim candles, it is recollected, in tin sconces, lighted up the assembly. To the schoolboy's intelligence, the only interest of the scene was in the familiar voice and the gathered crowd. Of the subject of discussion, nothing was understood, save, as reported at home, that Mr. Key, a well-known friend, was talking about Africa. Circumstances fix this incident

in 1816, half a century ago. How idly would the schoolboy not have regarded any promise then made to him, that he would live to preside at the semi-centennial anniversary of the Society whose feeble beginnings he had just witnessed without comprehending them! And now, how profoundly grateful should not the recipient of so high an honor be, not only to those whose choice gave him the seat which he occupies tonight, but most especially to HIM by whose mercy, while others younger and better have fallen, he has been spared to witness the seed, planted in 1816, germinate, and send forth a tree, which, through winters of discouragement and summers of prosperity, has grown until it has attracted the attention of the nations, and has a nation sheltered beneath its branches!

Fifty years! And *such* years! Of what other fifty years has history told the same wondrous tale? They commenced while the thunder of European wars and of our second contest with Great Britain still echoed in our ears. Wearied with the march of battle, the world was resting and gaining strength for a yet grander march,—the march of progress. How astonishing the facts of these fifty years! How extraordinary their developments!

In 1816, there were but three steamboats on the Hudson, and but three west of the Alleghanias. In 1867, where are they not? In 1816, the postage of a letter from Washington to Baltimore was ten cents; to Philadelphia, twelve; to New York, eighteen; and to

New Orleans, twenty-five. Now the postage to San Francisco is but three cents; and the telegraph has made communication with these places as instantaneous as the thoughts to be communicated.

In 1816, if the winds favored, a letter from America reached Europe in three weeks; if adverse, in six. Now, the Secretary of State sends to our minister in Paris what the Emperor of the French receives within the hour that saw it written in Washington. In 1816, it was the labor of days to travel from the capital to New York. Impatient at the nine hours now occupied, the public desire a still more rapid transit. Railroads cover the land as with a net, and are already penetrating the wilderness at the rate of a mile of construction daily, on their route to the Pacific. In 1816, we were staggering under a war-debt of but a few millions. Now we are paying off a war-debt of more than two thousand millions, at the rate of two hundred millions annually.

If to these comparisons were to be added the improvements in science and the arts, hours would be required for the enumeration.

Progress in science, progress in art, progress in all the appliances of human comfort, have signalized the half century whose close we this night commemorate.

But, of all that has been referred to, nothing has been more grand in conception, more wonderful in execution, or of more promising results, than African colonization. Grand in conception, because it solves the

problem presented by the presence in the same land of two races, both free, that cannot amalgamate by intermarriage. Wonderful in execution, because with the humblest means, without the patronage of Government, and with few better materials than ignorant free negroes and emancipated slaves, it has built up a republic holding an honorable rank in the family of nations, with churches and schools, with free institutions modelled after our own, and already attracting to it the descendants of those who, brought naked and helpless from Africa, acquired here the religion and civilization with which their children are returning, clothed as with bright raiment, to their ancestral home. More promising of results, because its agencies are at work, not for the welfare of one people only, but for two quarters of the globe itself, benefiting America, blessing Africa; obviating in the one an otherwise inevitable strife, securing in the other the fulfilment of prophecy; illuminating the latter, without diminishing the lustre of the former; blessed of the Almighty in its progress, and finding, in an almost miraculous success, encouragement in the belief that his hand will support it to the end.



PORTIONS  
OF THE  
FIFTIETH ANNUAL REPORT.



## PORTIONS OF THE FIFTIETH ANNUAL REPORT,

READ AT THE ANNUAL MEETING.

---

THE American Colonization Society commemorates the Semi-Centennial Anniversary of its formation. Profound thanks are offered to God for marked progress in its noble work, and for the wider field of activity opened, and that its labors during the year just closed have been more extended and beneficial than for many years past.

Since the last meeting, seven more of the Vice-Presidents of the Society have been removed. The first who was called away was JAMES BOORMAN, Esq., of New York, a liberal giver to promote the benevolent enterprises of the times, and a model of Christian integrity and judgment. Following him, in rapid succession, were Lieut.-Gen. WINFIELD SCOTT, whose goodness of heart and humanity shone not less brightly than his military genius and love of country; Dr. THOMAS HODGKIN, of London, who spent his life in the service of his fellow-creatures of all races, and was universally esteemed for his consistency of character and the utter unselfishness

of his devotion to this and every good cause ; WILLIAM W. SEATON, Esq., long an active and highly-prized member of the Executive Committee of this Society, and its public advocate and defender, who has left behind him a bright example of disinterested benevolence ; Gen. JOHN H. COCKE, of Virginia, for many years spared as the senior Vice-President of the Society, and who had fervently labored for his servants by furnishing the facilities for their spiritual improvement, and the settlement of some, and the preparation of others to enjoy their freedom in Liberia ; DANIEL CHANDLER, Esq., of Alabama, justly held in high esteem for his piety and philanthropic character ; and Commodore ROBERT F. STOCKTON, of New Jersey, eminent for civic acquirements and naval renown, and for intrepidity in meeting and successfully surmounting the bitter opposition of the natives, and in securing the territory upon which has arisen Monrovia, the capital city of the Liberian Republic.

It is fitting here to notice the great loss sustained by the Society in the decease of JOHN P. CROZER, Esq., of Pennsylvania, a man of rare generous sympathies and abounding liberality, long identified with the religious and charitable institutions of the country. Bound to our cause by the heroic dedication and sacrifice of a younger brother. — Dr. Samuel A. Crozer, who was the first agent and physician appointed by the Society, and who sailed with the first company of emigrants despatched to Western Africa, — he was always much

interested in our labors and progress, and frequently attended and participated in the deliberations of the Board of Directors, where he was distinguished by a sound judgment, catholic disposition, uniform courtesy, and genuine kindness. By his will, he made provision for the promotion of the purposes of our organization to the extent of five thousand dollars.

Death has also removed from the ranks of the patrons and efficient friends of the Society, FRANCIS HALL, Esq., of New York; WILLIAM CRANE, Esq., of Baltimore; and Hon. ABRAHAM HANSON, the first Commissioner and Consul-General of the United States to Liberia, whose address at our last annual meeting was full of interest and encouragement.

In the departure of these constant and able advocates of the cause of African colonization, the members and friends of the Society are admonished of the uncertainty of all human supports, and of the necessity of arousing themselves to higher efforts in the light of the ever-shining glory of these excellent and lamented men.

To accommodate the numerous applicants for passage and settlement in Liberia, and in view of the great economy and pressing necessity of having a vessel of our own, adapted to our wants, it was determined to purchase, in September last, the ship "Golconda," 1016 tons, or 303 tons larger than the packet "Mary Caro-

line Stevens," whose place she takes in the service of the Society between this country and Liberia.

The purchase was not effected until after a thorough examination of the markets for vessels on charter or for sale. She was secured at a very reasonable price for cash. To Dr. James Hall is the Society indebted for the selection, purchase, and fitting out of this ship.

The "Golconda" was purchased and provisioned at Boston, and sailed thence, on Saturday, Oct. 20, for Charleston, S.C., as the nearest and most convenient port for the embarkation of the expected emigrants. On the afternoon of Wednesday, Nov. 21, being the first day of high water on the bar after her arrival at Charleston, she was towed safely out to sea and set sail for Liberia.

She started with exactly six hundred emigrants on board, of whom 194 were from Macon, Ga.; 167 from Newberry, S.C.; 144 from Knoxville, Tenn.; 52 from Charleston, S.C.; and 43 from Columbia, S.C. Of these, 206 are to settle at Sinou, 181 at Carysburg, 155 at Cape Mount, and 58 at Cape Palmas.

A large proportion of the emigrants are professors of religion; of whom it is known that 70 are Methodists, 56 are Baptists, 13 are Presbyterians, and 2 are Episcopalians. Among them is a regularly organized church, — "THE MACON BAPTIST CHURCH OF SINOUCOUNTY, LIBERIA," — consisting of pastor, two deacons, and twenty-six members.

A high degree of intelligence is shown, in that 77 can

read, 20 can both read and write, and 2 have had the advantages of a collegiate education.

The trades or occupations are represented by 78 farmers, 33 laborers, 15 carpenters, 13 shoemakers, 9 bricklayers, 9 blacksmiths, 4 wheelwrights, 3 coopers, 3 tailors, 2 millers, 2 cooks, 1 iron-moulder, 1 silversmith, 1 ginmaker, 1 waterman, 1 gunsmith, 1 engineer, 1 goldsmith, 1 dentist, and 1 photographer.

The "Golconda" had five cabin passengers, among whom are the venerable Rev. John Seys, for the past thirty years identified with the interests of Liberia and of the cause of African colonization, now returning as Minister-Resident and Consul-General of the United States to that Republic; and Rev. H. W. Erskine, son of one of the most estimable colored ministers who ever went to the African coast, who was educated in Liberia, entered the ministry, and is now Attorney-General of that rising State. This was his first visit to the land of his birth, made in part to take with him an aged sister and her husband, with their children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren lately made free, and now joyfully accompanying him.

Since the departure of the "Golconda" from Boston, applications have been received with the names of 78 persons at Winnesboro', S.C.; 25 at Lagrange, Ga.; 78 at Columbus, Ga.; 178 at Newberry, S.C.; and 291 at Mullins Depot, S.C.: in all, 642 for passage to Liberia. Companies are known to be forming, each promising to be at least 150 strong, at Macon, Ga.; at

Florence, S.C.; at Apalachicola, Fla.; and at Newbern, N.C.; while smaller parties have applied from other places, among which may be named Edenton, N.C., and Albemarle County, Va., all hoping to set sail the coming spring for "Fatherland."

Inquiries for information about Liberia, and how to get there, continue to reach the office of the Society, showing that multitudes are using the means, which they never had before, of learning the actual condition and real promise of a country which appeals to them with its ancestral claims, and offers them such advantages as they can hope to obtain nowhere else on the face of the earth.

It is to be distinctly understood that each and all of the movements which resulted in the unusually large emigration by the "Golconda," and those just referred to, were, and are, purely local and spontaneous. The people sought the Society in each and every instance.

Ought not these people also to be helped? Shall we close our hands against those who prefer a home in Liberia, and seek of us the needful aid? If they desire and choose to go to Africa, is it not our duty to aid and encourage them to do so? Can we, in any better way, repay them for their services, or make amends for the past, than by restoring them to their long-lost heritage in their fatherland? And shall we fail to supply Africa with intelligent Christian industry in the persons of her own offspring?



“As teachers, missionaries, and colonies, they will go self-moved; and the waves of the Atlantic, that heard the wail and the groans from the hold of the slave-ship, will yet resound with the song, the psalm, and the prayer, from the lips of colored people returning to found empire and Christian civilization in Africa. How vast, then, are the results of the problem of the colored people in America! They involve all sections and populations here, and extend their influence over two continents. Such a problem may well claim the sympathy and thought of the nation.”

In his last annual message, President Warner thus dwells upon the advantages which Liberia is offering to the people of color: —

“On the subject of immigration, we cannot but feel a deep interest. Our need of population is immediate and urgent. Our immense resources cannot be developed; the fruits of the earth, spontaneously produced, cannot be gathered; the fat of the land cannot be made available,—simply for the want of minds and hands to engage in the necessary operations. Surely, with the vast latent capabilities of this country, we have the ability to become a power by no means to be despised in the agricultural and commercial world.

“We have again and again invited our friends in the United States to come over and help us to fill up the vast solitudes, which for centuries have remained uninhabited; while they, in exile in the Western Hemisphere, are jostled and elbowed and trampled upon by an oppressive race. But my hopes are as strong as ever, and my confidence remains unshaken in the destiny of Liberia. She is yet to be the asylum for the oppressed American negro, and a beacon for the guidance of the benighted tribes of this continent. I may not be able to predict the methods by which Africa’s exiled sons are to be restored to her bosom; but I feel certain such an occurrence will in some way or other take place.”

Rev. Edward W. Blyden, lately Secretary of State of Liberia, and now Fulton Professor of Languages in Liberia College, on a recent occasion said : —

“Any one who has travelled at all in Western Africa, especially in the interior of Liberia, and has seen how extensive and beautiful a country, marvellously fertile, lies uninhabited, with its attractive and perennial verdure overspreading the hills and valleys, cannot but come to the conclusion that this beautiful domain is in reserve for a people who are to come and cultivate it; and we can see no people so well prepared and adapted for this work as the negroes of the United States.

“Africa will, without doubt, be the final home and field of operation for thousands if not millions of them. And the powerful agency that will thus be brought into that land, — of family influences, and the diversified appliances of civilized life in the various mechanical, agricultural, commercial, and civil operations, will rapidly renovate the spirit and character of the African communities; and whole tribes, brought under the pervading influence of Christian principles, will be incorporated among us. And then Anglo-American Christianity, liberty, and law, under the protection of the Liberian flag, will have nothing to impede their indefinite spread over that immense continent.”

Liberia is gradually growing in the elements of national stability. The natural riches of that region are enormous, and are such as, sooner or later, will support a commerce to which that at present existing on the coast is merely fractional. The Liberians own and run a fleet of “coasters,” collecting palm-oil, cam-wood, ivory, gold-dust, and other commodities. A schooner

of eighty tons was built, costing \$11,000, and loaded last fall at New York, from money and the proceeds of African produce sent for that purpose by an enterprising merchant of Grand Bassa County. A firm at Monrovia are having a vessel built in one of the ship-yards of New York, to cost \$15,000, which it is expected will be ready to sail about the middle of February next.

Bishop Payne, for the past thirty years connected with the Episcopal Mission on the West Coast of Africa, and now temporarily in this country, thus describes what he witnessed at Monrovia on his recent homeward voyage:—

“We enter Monrovia Roads, and find two vessels at anchor. One, a brigantine of 137 tons, English built, is owned by Dr. S. F. McGill and brothers. She is commanded by Captain Kelly, Liberian, and a navigator. The other is a regular English brig, just out, consigned to the firm just named, with a full cargo, and to be loaded entirely by them. Boats are passing rapidly to and from the shore, loaded with palm-oil and sugar. Her “lay days,” or days for loading, are forty, but she will be freighted in thirty days. Dr. McGill ships on board of her thirty thousand gallons palm-oil and twenty-five thousand pounds of sugar, from the St. Paul’s River.

“Just as we come to anchor, several boats come alongside the bark ‘Thomas Pope,’ loaded with sugar. It is freight from Mr. Jesse Sharp, one of the prosperous sugar-planters on the St. Paul’s. Mr. Sharp judiciously purchased a small steam sugar-mill for \$2,500, and paid for it the first year. For fourteen days we are receiving cargo, all from Monrovia. We ship thirty-six thousand gallons palm-oil, sixty-two thousand pounds of sugar, near fourteen thousand pounds of coffee, seven hundred pounds of ivory, besides sundry smaller amounts of freight.”

The same devoted laborer for the redemption of Africa affords the following cheering account of what he saw of the thrift, comfort, and progress along the St. Paul's River, during a trip made Friday, April 20, 1866:—

“Emerging from Stockton Creek, we feel we are in a civilized country. On the right, in Lower Caldwell, is the neat establishment of Mr. Powers. Here, too, is a modest frame building, with quite as modest a congregation, called St. Peter's Episcopal Church. Proceeding up the river, we saw two Baptist and Methodist churches, each of brick, on either side of the river. Just opposite to Mr. Powers's, on the Virginia side of the river, is the neat, home-like residence of Rev. John W. Roberts, Bishop of the Liberia Methodist Church. The settlement of Virginia here extends back three or four miles from the river. Above Mr. Roberts's, we soon see the fine brick houses of Mr. William Blackledge and Rev. A. F. Russell. Presently we come to Clay-Ashland, where, besides Grace (Episcopal) Church, are three others. Here are many fine brick houses, the township of Clay-Ashland extending back four or five miles; and now we never lose sight again of cultivated fields and comfortable brick houses. Best amongst these are those of the Messrs. Cooper, DeCoursey, Anderson, Howland, and Washington, sugar-planters. By the time we reach the Gaudilla farm, we have passed four steam-mills, all hard at work. There are many wooden mills, besides those propelled by steam. An intelligent friend has given us the following, as an approximate estimate of the sugar crop on the St. Paul's, in 1866: Sharp, 120,000 lbs.; Cooper, 30,000 lbs.; Anderson, 35,000 lbs.; Howland, 40,000 lbs.; Roe, 30,000 lbs.; sundry smaller farmers, 150,000; total, 575,000 lbs. The coffee crop also is considerable, though we are not able to state how much.”

Several of the leading powers of the world have recently given evidence of their regard for Liberia. By order of the Emperor of Russia, a first-class Russian frigate made a complimentary visit in January to Monrovia. Sweden and Norway also sent a national vessel on a similar errand, — the first arrivals of the armed representatives of these two northern European nations in the waters of the African Republic. The celebrated ship “Kearsarge” lately called on her way home from the Mediterranean, — the first American cruiser ordered there since the beginning of the war. The highest diplomatic representative accredited to Liberia is from the United States, — the title being lately changed to that of Minister-Resident and Consul-General. Holland, and Sweden and Norway, have created consulate officers to reside at Monrovia; and it is expected that a treaty of amity and commerce will soon be concluded between Russia and Liberia.

As we close this annual record, we turn our eyes to survey the way in which the Lord hath led us this fifty years.

The American Colonization Society was founded in Washington, D.C., Dec. 21, 1816, by eminent individuals from the several States, memorably prominent among whom was the Rev. Robert Finley, D.D. A Constitution was adopted at an adjourned meeting held in the Hall of the House of Representatives on the “following Saturday,” Dec. 28, and officers elected Jan. 1, 1817. Not one, it is believed, of those who took part

in these proceedings, or of the officers chosen at the first meeting, is living to witness its Semi-Centennial Anniversary!

The Society has had five Presidents, viz. : —

Jan. 1, 1817, Hon. Bushrod Washington.

Jan. 18, 1830, Hon. Charles Carroll, of Carrollton.

Jan. 20, 1833, Ex-President James Madison.

Dec. 15, 1836, Hon. Henry Clay.

Jan. 19, 1853, Hon. J. H. B. Latrobe.

The whole amount of its receipts during the fifty years has been \$2,141,507.77; and the State Colonization Societies received, while acting in an independent capacity, as nearly as we can arrive at it, \$417,399.33; making a grand total of \$2,558,907.10.

The Society has given passage to 11,909 persons of color, sent in 147 vessels or voyages; and, what is a remarkable providence, not one of the vessels with emigrants on board has been permitted to be wrecked or lost! Of these people, 4,541 were born free, 344 purchased their freedom, 5,957 were emancipated for the purpose of going to Liberia, the status of 68 is unknown, 346 were sent, in 1865, from Barbadoes, W.I., and 753 of the class popularly known as "freedmen" have left this country since the termination of the war. Besides these, 1,227 have been settled at "Maryland in Liberia," by the Maryland State Colonization Society. The total emigration, therefore, under colonization auspices and expense, has been 13,136.

The Government of the United States has made the



settlements founded by the Society the asylum of 5,722 recaptured Africans, mostly taken on the high seas by its men-of-war.

The Society has strictly confined its labors to the "colonizing, with their own consent, the free people of color residing in our country, in Africa."

Rev. Samuel J. Mills and Rev. Ebenezer Burgess went on board the "Electra," at Philadelphia, for London, Nov. 16, 1817. They set sail in the "Mary," from London, Feb. 3, 1818, and arrived at Sierra Leone March 22, following. They selected Sherbro Island, about 120 miles from that celebrated British colony, and left thence for the United States May 22, having passed just two months on the west coast of Africa. Mr. Mills died on the homeward voyage. His worthy colleague still lives in a good old age.

The ship "Elizabeth," the "Mayflower" of Liberia, sailed from New York Feb. 6, 1820, with 86 emigrants, and arrived at Sierra Leone March 9. These pioneers were landed at Campelar, Sherbro Island, March 20, 1820. This place was soon abandoned, and the survivors removed to Fourah Bay.

A treaty was signed at and for Mesurado Dec. 15, 1821, the colonists removed, and the American flag raised there, April 25, 1822.

The several settlements, with one exception, were formed into a Commonwealth, the Legislature of which began its first session Aug. 30, 1839.

The people, in Convention assembled, July 26, 1847,

constituted and declared themselves a "free, sovereign, and independent State, by the name and title of the Republic of Liberia."

The flag of the new Republic was raised Aug. 24, 1847, with demonstrations of joy and gratitude.

The territory owned by the Liberian Government extends some six hundred miles along the West-African coast, and reaches back indefinitely toward the interior, the native title to which has been fairly purchased.

It has brought within its elevating influence at least 200,000 of the native inhabitants, who are gradually acquiring the arts, comforts, and conveniences of civilized life. It has a regularly organized government, modelled after our own, with all the departments in successful operation. Schools, seminaries, a college, and some fifty churches, belonging to seven different denominations, are in a hopeful condition. Towns and cities are being built where once the slave-trade flourished with all its untold cruelty, bloodshed, and carnage. Agriculture is extending, and commerce is increasing.

Liberia has exercised, for nigh twenty years, all the powers and attributes of an independent Government, and has been recognized as such by the leading powers of the world.



ADDRESS

OF

HIS EXCELLENCY D. B. WARNER,

PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA.



## ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT WARNER.

---

*Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the American Colonization Society :*

DOUBTLESS the occasion on which you have come together to-day is one of thrilling interest to every philanthropist present. It dates the semi-centennial existence of an institution, which, fifty years ago, entered upon the prosecution of an enterprise which has already achieved much, and is destined to revolutionize for good an entire continent. A period of fifty years in the age of a nation just beginning its career is short, when compared with the object it has in view and the length of time such an organization is expected to exist; but when viewed in connection with a private association, such as your Society is, it occupies in the catalogue of dates a high and prominent place.

Among the circumstances which led to the founding of your Society, there may be enumerated the frightful proportions to which slavery had grown in the United States of America; the deep moral and physical degradation and immense suffering of its victims; the wide-spreading demoralizing effects it was producing upon

the morality, civilization, and Christianity of the country ; and the awful sense of the great guilt and immeasurable responsibilities the country was incurring by allowing an institution so reproachful to continue in it and to receive aid and comfort under its flag. The former of these circumstances had produced in some of the States very distressing alarm, causing them to give the question of slavery a serious consideration ; and the sufferings of the slave had appealed with powerful effect to the justice, humanity, and benevolence of all the States.

Respecting the first and chief object of the Society at its founding, there have been made various statements ; some of which, if true, attribute to it a selfishness which finds a parallel only in that which clinches the hands and petrifies the heart of the most detested and abandoned miser. But such a selfishness as that could not, I think, have continued so long, and been productive of such great and good results as we see flowing from the operations of the scheme of African colonization. But whether it was self-interest, or any thing akin thereto, which prompted the founding of the institution, and has ever since been the mainspring of all its operations, the signs of the times seem to favor the opinion of *many*, that an enterprise was set on foot, which, in process of time, will become a standing wonder of the world ; and, in eternity, millions will remember it as the door through which they entered the church militant, and thence the church triumphant.

Perhaps the pages of modern history contain a record

of no beginnings so small, instruments so weak, and wielded by a power so feeble, that have, in the same time, accomplished more than the Society has through its African colonization scheme. This remark should be regarded as neither boastful and extravagant on the part of Liberia, nor enthusiastic and exaggerative in favor of the Society. It is rather an expression given to convictions which are daily being strengthened and confirmed by the progressive movements, both of the Society and of Liberia, and in which the world itself will concur, when the objects and operations, achievements and prospects of both shall have been thoroughly understood by it.

The Society was no sooner formed, than its object and operations became an offence to the hardened slaveholder. By him they were said to be in antagonism to his interest, and the interest of those he held in bondage. He, therefore, hurled against them all the formidable weapons he could command; calling, at the same time, for the curse of Heaven to fall upon them, and blast them forever.

There seems, however, to have been, in the earlier stages of slavery in the United States, some little just and humane consideration for the slave and man of color; but, when this feeling assumed the form of protection and stern justice, the creed of the pro-slavery man was made to run thus: "Go, therefore, now, and work, for there shall no straw be given you, yet ye shall deliver the tale of bricks."

As friends to the Society and African colonization multiplied, the opposition of the pro-slavery men grew stronger, seconded even by some of those for whose especial benefit the association was founded. It was fierce and malicious and formidable enough to discourage and even check a movement much more popular than African colonization.

That there may be brought under view something more of the greatness of the task which the Society imposed upon itself, — or will it be as correct to say, that was imposed upon the Society? — when it assumed to found a colony of the American blacks on the West Coast of Africa, — this dreaded land, — we must take into the account the very limited geographical knowledge it possessed of the country about to be occupied, of the character of the people inhabiting it, the distance of three thousand miles emigrants would have to be transported who were to be the colonists, and the protection which would have to be afforded these from the violence and depredations of the natives in the country. Here, too, in active operation, was a powerful branch of that great laboratory — the slave-trade — that was furnishing the Western World with its victims of cruelty, suffering, and death. It was being carried on by civilized and Christian governments, who made their navies sentinels to watch and repel the approaches of any one that would have the temerity to come to molest them in their infamous work of blood. Long had the horrid

flag of this nefarious traffic waved over the land, supported and worshipped by its kings and its princes.

Against this array of might and power, a handful of men, comprising the American Colonization Society,—an association of very limited means, and equally so in point of skill in the management of African affairs,—set out to contend, relying for success upon the pureness of their intention, the justice of their cause, and the hope of receiving aid from Him by whom “kings reign and princes decree righteousness;” and who had said, “Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hand unto God.” How they began and succeeded, we will narrate presently.

For more than three centuries previous to the founding of your Society, the African slave-trade had been crossing the Atlantic Ocean to the Western Hemisphere. Annually, it had torn away from their native homes and beloved country, thousands and thousands of the children of Africa, burying thousands of them in the sea, as they expired in the middle passage, and transporting the remainder of them, sick, feeble, and distressed, to foreign countries; there subjecting them to a servitude and to brutalities to which a speedy and violent death is preferable. For years this wicked and unjust traffic had been passing from East to West, attended with sufferings, cruelties, and barbarities, which torture the mind to reflect upon. The Western World had been made black with the shrivelled forms of its victims, and their oppressors drunk with their blood.

But, from the beginning of the foul monster's career,

there was an eye, which never sleeps, looking on upon his work. It took cognizance of all his deeds; of each of his victims that fell in the middle passage, and now lies on the bed of ocean; of all that breathed out their souls on the bloody plantation, whose bones have no resting place but in the open air, exposed to the foot of the impious and the ravages of the night beasts.

True, the American people, as a nation, retired from the trade, declaring it piracy, and those of themselves engaged in it worthy of death; but this declaration was, in effect, like the decrees of King Ahasuerus, and its hypocrisy has received a terrible reward. But the time in the purpose of this All-seeing One having come, when a counter current should set in,—when there should be, at least, a beginning of a returning to their father-land of the suffering African captives, a star appeared to guide them to the spot:—

“ It was their guide, their light, their all ;  
It bade their dark forebodings cease ;  
And through the storm, and danger’s thrall,  
It led them to the port of peace.”

Purposely inspired, as I very believe they were, by Omnipotence, with his will to that end, a few philanthropic individuals banded themselves together, and, in the year 1816, founded the American Colonization Society. This is the star which appeared to shed light on the surrounding darkness of American slavery, and



to point out to the bondmen the way from the "House of Bondage" to the "Land of Promise." This was the more earnest beginning by those devoted philanthropists, to do that *will* of Heaven with which they had been so impressively inspired.

Still pressing towards their object, the Society, in 1818, employed, commissioned, and sent to the coast of Africa, two commissioners. The honored forerunners of the heaven-blessed scheme, and bearers of credentials sealed with an impress deeper and broader than that which mortals use, were Messrs. Samuel J. Mills and Ebenezer Burgess, — names honored in Liberia by all who hear them. Theirs was the duty to "spy out the land," and to select and purchase a suitable site for the location of a colony. This was to be an asylum, — a peaceful retreat from slavery and oppression — for as many of the African exiles in America as could and would avail themselves of the provisions made by the Society for reaching it. It was to be the foundation of a Christian negro nationality, and a beacon to the countless thousands and millions of Africa's sons who are sitting in darkness and in the region and shadow of death.

Promptly did those agents fulfil their mission, the many obstacles which lay in their way notwithstanding. In treating with the owners of the land selected, they were brought in contact with all that duplicity and treachery for which the natives connected with the slave-trade are so signally famous. This rendered their

negotiations both irksome and perplexing. But all these difficulties were heroically encountered and overcome ; and then the commissioners turned their faces homeward.

On the return of Mr. Burgess to America (Mr. Mills, his co-adjutor, having resigned his gentle spirit to Him who gave it, while on his way to those who had sent him), and the communication to the Society of his report, the Society determined at once to give their novel enterprise a thorough and practical trial, so soon as circumstances would allow it to do so. After the lapse of two years, matters being favorable, the undertaking was resumed ; when in February, 1820, the ship "Elizabeth" was chartered, and sent to the Sherbro Island with a company of eighty-eight emigrants, under the care and superintendence of the Society's new agent, Dr. S. A. Crozer. This was the forming germ of a subsequent growth ; and who at that time, judging from its formation and tenderness, could determine the size of the tree it would produce ? Who could estimate the number of other happy events depending upon its success ? Or who, even now, at its advanced age and growth of only forty-six years, will undertake to figure up the good which has already accrued from it to civilization and Christianity ? And what circle less than that which bounds eternity will be sufficiently great to enclose the influence it is now exerting upon the world ? Had the opportunity afforded the Society at that time

for planting a settlement in Africa been lost, a second one would probably have never occurred.

The location selected for the colony being, as it subsequently and sadly proved to be, one of extreme unhealthiness, the emigrants were early stricken down by its pestilential fevers. Great suffering followed; and death did his work so fast and terribly, that it was found necessary to abandon the island, and remove the surviving colonists to the colony of Sierra-Leone. Here they remained until they were re-enforced by a company by the brig "Nautilus;" and here both companies located until a second and permanent place was found for them in 1821, at Cape Mesurado. At this place the care-worn wanderers utterly demolished the *tent*, substituting it with the more substantial and firmly-fixed lodge, composed of brick, wood, and the durable granite. Here a remnant of that pioneer band and their offspring are resting, having stood the shock of war, endured intense suffering, and undergone and lived through most of the trials and vicissitudes peculiar to newly-founded countries. And here are thousands of others who have come after them, enjoying, in the fullest sense of the word, "liberty and equality." Here no "public sentiment frowns them down," so long as they obey their country's laws.

It was to be out of the "house of bondage," that those way-faring and self-sacrificing men, stooping under the weight of weary years of slavery, launched upon the tumultuous ocean, crossed it, and became the sub-

jects of suffering and privation which put to the test all of human and divine virtues they possessed. And the fortitude and heroism displayed by those founders of Liberia, during their day of trial, were indeed worthy the cause calling them into action; and the names of the veterans themselves, with that of the illustrious Ashmun, and those of your numerous other self-sacrificing agents, and that of the Gordons who fell in the cause of African colonization, — died here that Liberia might live, — will descend in radiance of glory, gathering brightness as years roll on, to generations yet unborn.

All this was done to reclaim from slavery, superstition, and idolatry, and to prepare and garnish *the* home of the millions of Africa's descendants in America, and to bring within the range of morality, civilization, and Christianity, the untold millions of her sons and daughters dwelling in darkness on her soil, and in gross darkness which can be felt.

What a fabric of "civil and religious liberty" was begun at the laying of the corner-stone of the Colony of Liberia! What a monument of God's favor and loving-kindness to the sons of Ham was then being created! What an achievement was being effected in favor of the gospel of peace! And what tongue will refuse to speak His glories forth, who put it into the hearts of those who undertook the work, and, until their death, devoted themselves to its execution, to go

forth and build up the waste places in Africa which sin had made!

Thus far I have attempted very little in detail. I have already passed over, unnoticed, hundreds of incidents which occurred between the arrival at Sherbro of the ship "Elizabeth" with the first emigrants, and the formal occupation by the colonists of Cape Mesurado; and there are hundreds of others strewed between that period and the time I am occupying in addressing you.

Some of those incidents were truly afflicting and distressing; and a recollection of them, even at this distant period of time, produces in the mind very sad and painful reflections. Others were cheering and gratifying, and in their more happy effects are still looming up before us in the most flattering prospects of success, both to the Society and to the Republic of Liberia.

In my last inaugural address, I have already noticed what I think should be regarded by us all as very remarkable in the enterprise of your Society, viz.: the exemption from those more sad and distressing casualties or disasters, so common to the maritime world, of all its vessels but one, I think, transporting emigrants to Liberia.\* Are not such remarkable instances of the preservation of ships very rare? And have we another such instance given, as in the case of the Society, in which a company has sent its vessels across the ocean for forty-six years, consecutively, and has lost but one of them? Were I certain that the case of the Society

\* In that single instance of wreck, no emigrant was lost.—[Ed.]

furnished the only instance of the kind, I would seize upon it with the greater tenacity, as an incontrovertible proof of God's special favor towards the returning bondmen of America, and of his pre-determined purpose that they should once more visit, and permanently settle in, their country, — long lost and disgraced though it may have been, — driving out the Canaanite, and breaking down and trampling under foot the power of the slaver.

Granting that some vessel and her company of emigrants shall be lost, — sunk in the depths of the sea, — will that be sufficient to break down the opinion, that the Supreme Being has willed and fore-ordained that there shall be an exodus of the colored population of America to their own land? No more so, I think, than the falling in the wilderness of all the Jews, except two, over twenty-one years of age, that left Egypt for Canaan, before they reached that place, was sufficient to prove that it had not been pre-ordained that they should leave Egypt, and go into Canaan. If any of the descendants of Africa in America start hither, despising the country — their sacredly reserved inheritance — to which they are coming, should it be thought strange if they do not reach it?

The late war in America, — that terrible “uprising of a great people,” — if it could be viewed in all its phases and connections, would probably furnish an exact key to the question, “Shall the people go to their own place?” The very *watch-word* of that war was, “Let



my people go, that they may serve me in the wilderness." The burden of President Lincoln's administration was, Loose the shackles, and let the oppressed go free! And President Johnson, extending the order, says to the people, "Go to Liberia."

All the propositions, from 1777 to the present time, made by various Governments, the Government of the United States of America not excepted, for the settlement of the people elsewhere than their own country, have failed, — failed, may we not say, like the building of Babel, because they were in direct opposition to that plan for settling them, designed by Him who is the Great Designer of the universe itself. He saith, "Surely, as I have thought, so shall it come to pass; and as I have purposed, so shall it stand." \*

It would seem, then, that it is no wilderness in Mississippi, in any of the north-western Territories, nor in Central America, to which the people should remove or be removed, but to the wilderness of Western and of Central Africa. These, doubtless, are the localities ordained of old to be the future dwelling-places of the returning captives of Africa, and the deep solitudes requiring the melody of their songs, that the solitary places may be glad; and the people themselves should be constantly pleading, "Send me away, that I may go unto mine own place."

On being invited to come to Liberia, the colored

\* Isaiah xiv. 24

people of America should not regard the invitation in the light of a request made of them to surrender their own country, and come to one belonging to others. The contrary is the true state of the case. Africa, and not America, is their country. It was made theirs when

“ God drave asunder, and assigned their lot  
To, all the nations.”

It has been for centuries, and is still being, kept in sacred reserve for them, and none shall inherit their portion until they come. And they ought to come; and come they will, when it shall be said to them, — and it will be said to them in a manner they shall not be able to resist, — “ Get thee out from this land, and return to the land of thy kindred.”

Here is ample room to receive them, bread enough to feed them, wealth to enrich them, and a way open before them to the object of their highest aspirations.

“ Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots ?” So neither can finite minds change or frustrate the mind and purposes of the Infinite. “ For the Lord of hosts hath purposed, and who shall disannul it ? His hand is stretched out, and who shall turn it back ? ”

But, you ask me, What is that purpose ? The sum total of the answer is with Him whose “ thoughts are not as our thoughts ; ” but the opinion entertained by many respecting it is, that, in the course of time, the two races — the black and white races — must separate ; and the



deep blue Atlantic Ocean will be the dividing — the Mason and Dixon — line between them. Besides this, there seems yet to be solved but one other question remaining; viz., Can the blacks be absorbed by the whites? That is, can there or will there be, through the means of a spontaneous amalgamation, a gradual passing away of the former into mulattoes, and these again into the dominant race, so that, in a few centuries, the whole of the present negro population of America will have been changed into the white element? This is not probable; neither should it be thought desirable.

It will be but increasing the difficulty (perhaps I am too dogmatical in my opinion on this, and some of the foregoing subjects), the settling of the people by themselves in any part of America, where they and the whites can have easy and frequent intercourse with each other. This opinion is based on the probability, that, under such circumstances, one or the other people will invade the rights of his neighbor. This will gender into an unpleasant altercation between them; and, if the cause of offence proceed from the side of the blacks, will there not always be found among the whites those who will shoot down a score of blacks for an injury done, nay, even for an insult offered, to one of the whites? If such an occurrence were to take place near or at the allotted home of the four millions of blacks, would it not be resented? And, if resented, the consequences would probably be such as I need not, if I could, describe. If it was not resented, I can think of but two things to

which such an enlightened and successful restraint upon depraved human nature would be attributable. First, that the blacks, in separating from the whites, solemnly vowed never to quarrel with them (the whites), except in a *legal* way, under any circumstance whatever; and, secondly, that they felt themselves numerically too weak to contend successfully with their white neighbors in a quarrel in which deadly weapons would be used. If the latter conclusion should be the barrier to their protecting and defending themselves when they *should* do so, then the blacks would not be living in the enjoyment of that social and political ease and equality for which they are, but vainly, contending in America.

But to return. If I could be less commendatory in my remarks while I address you, I would prefer it; but I cannot well be so, and give utterance to what I feel to be genuine convictions relative to your Society and the Republic of Liberia. The life-long interests of millions of the African race in the Western Hemisphere are involved in the question. Shall those millions remain where they are, and let Africa go down, and sink yet lower; or should they return to their fatherland, and redeem it from the stigma and reproach which have rested upon it for ages, dishonoring its name, and throwing a darker shade over its ancient glory? The salvation of an entire continent of many millions of inhabitants is at stake; and it is but just, that every laudable means should be called into requisition to secure it; and that those means should be regarded with a proper

appreciation, and their operations promoted ; and every thing ought to be said and done that will have, upon the whole subject, a wholesome and profitable bearing.

But for the inauguration of your Society, and the subsequent founding of Liberia, and the emigrating to it from American slavery of a few of the civilized descendants of Africa, what a fund of native, but rare and brilliant, talent would have lain hidden in the minds of thousands who are now employing it in diffusing useful and saving knowledge among thousands of thousands, who, but for receiving it through this channel, would have gone without it from the cradle to the grave!

History, in all probability, never would have had impressed on its pages, as men of great common sense, unflagging fortitude, and dauntless courage, the names of Elijah Johnson, Lot Cary, Daniel Hawkins, Allen James, Richmond Sampson, Thomas Spencer, John Lawrence, and the names of numbers of others who emigrated to Liberia in the darkness of the night of African slavery, fought here, and died in the work of laying the foundation of a negro Christian empire, and erecting the standard of freedom and of the cross of the Saviour. They toiled hard and long at this, praying, at the same time, that the sun of righteousness would shine on this benighted land, and chase hence, forever, the thick darkness in which it has been enveloped for thousands of years.

The oratorical powers of the lamented Hilary Teage, the diplomatic abilities of Joseph J. Roberts, the states-

manship of the late President Benson, the legal abilities of Chief-Justice John Day, and the ecclesiastic endowments of James S. Payne, and the admirable acquirements and abilities of many others in Liberia, would have been so many gifts vainly bestowed, but for a place for their display, and opportunities for their improvement; and these places and opportunities were not to be found in a land of slavery and proscription.

The banks of the St. Paul's, St. John's, Sinoe, and Farmington River, and of the River Cavalla, now teeming with civilized life and industry, presenting to view comfortable Christian homes, inviting school-houses and imposing church edifices, but for the founding of Liberia would have remained until this day studded with slave barracoons, the theatres of indescribable sufferings, wickedness, and shocking deaths. And what is to be said of the site on which is erected Liberia College? And have we, in truth, lived to see a college in Liberia? Its site is now no more a place of concealment for the subtle and sinewy boar, and the stealthy leopard. Its former forest echoes no longer the horrifying yell of the perfidious and murderous Dey, invading Monrovia; it is no longer made vocal with the doleful noise of the night-bird. An edifice, dedicated to the arts and sciences, stands there; and its halls are thronged with Liberia's youthful aspirants, preparing themselves to assert the rights of Africa, and to redeem her from her present thralldom.

And what can I say more! From every stand-point

I have yet been able to occupy, I can see nothing in the founding of the American Colonization Society, and its subsequent operations, but a lofty philanthropy engaged in the prosecution of a purpose which can be appreciated justly only by the mind that can grasp eternity. And yet we have the mortification to hear the Society pronounced a cheat; its agents, knaves; emigration, a gross injustice; the Republic of Liberia, a sham and a grave-yard; and the whole enterprise a deception! But all these pitiful indulgences and unjust criminations fail most shamefully to disprove the *fact*, that this day the sun, in the brightness of his glory, shines most majestically upon a palpable contradiction of *all* of them, in the real form of the highly respected and extensively recognized Republic of Liberia. Let its traducers come and see it. While they, on their side of the wall, are pouring water on the flame to extinguish it, on the opposite side there is a Hand, secretly, and as constantly, keeping it alive by feeding it with grateful oil.

With all her faults and failings, her poverty and weakness, Liberia is endeavoring to prove herself grateful to those who founded her, and have watched over her, cared for and fostered her for forty-six years, and so render herself worthy of the relations she sustains to Africa, and to the civilized nations with whom she has treaties.

Your offspring, Mr. President, and gentlemen of the society, is yet existing, and, withal, is growing, — grow-

ing in that which is of "good report." Her growth may be tardy; so may it be of long continuance. But, if our colored brethren would come over and help us, we should get on faster, and our prosperity would be much more abundant. They have been so frequently invited to come, and the advantages they would have in this country have been so clearly and repeatedly set before them, that I deem it unnecessary to say any thing further to encourage them to come than I have already said. If they will persist in building Babels in the land of Shinar, and pyramids in Egypt, which will eventually be to *them* only so many eye-sores whenever they look at them from this side of the waters, we have only to say to them, *build on*.

Since your founding, you have been called to lament the death of many of your once active and efficient members, whose presence in your meetings was so animating and cheering. In the far-off land of Africa, repose the dust of some of them. But there are yet remaining among you faces that have been familiar with each other, perhaps for fifty years. Doubtless there is among you your venerable and superannuated corresponding secretary, whom you sent to Liberia in 1824, to reconnoitre the colony, and to inspect the Agency of the great Ashmun, your then Colonial Agent, whose intrinsic worth, as a person for the times, the Society did not at that time know. There are also yet in Liberia, among the living, a few of the Crozer band, and a remnant of the Ashmun contemporaries. But Liberia, as



well as the Society, has had her bereavements. Her great men passed away just at the time, in human calculations, when their services were most wanted. They are gone from their labor and toil, and their works follow them.

Notwithstanding many evil reports have gone abroad against our "land of promise," deterring many in America, and perhaps elsewhere, from coming to help us possess it — and there are yet being uttered predictions that we must "eventually fail and come to naught," — yet both you and we have abundant reasons to rejoice, and to believe that He who has begun the work of Africa's redemption will carry it on to a glorious completion. That great Architect of the universe has given us already too many assurances of his good will towards us — and he is able to make that good will abundantly effectual — to allow us to doubt one moment his faithfulness in all things pertaining to his creatures, or to believe he will abandon us while we are yet trusting in him. The sure and immutable word is, "Righteousness exalteth a nation ; but sin is a reproach to any people." By securing the first, the second may be avoided.

In conclusion, Mr. President and gentlemen, I have only to remark, that, thus far, through the vicissitudes of fifty years, amidst the sneers and scoffs of those who would scoff and sneer at your undertaking, against the spiteful and virulent opposition of anti-colonizationists, with a determination of purpose, having a sanctified

reference to the glory of God, you have steadily held on your way, using your best endeavors for the redemption of Africa, and the salvation of her millions of souls. Were I permitted to speak a word in behalf of myself, in your presence, I would say, I shall never be able to command language to express my gratitude to God for guiding my infant feet to the Colony of Liberia. My time in Liberia is almost coeval with the existence of the place, and I have yet to *feel* the slightest regret at my being here.

And now, to Him who hath sustained you, and given you of his free Spirit to guide you in all your acts and deliberations, be ascribed might, majesty, and dominion, now and forever.



HISTORICAL DISCOURSE.



## HISTORICAL DISCOURSE.

---

*Mr. President :*

A PUBLIC notice has promised "An Historical Discourse on the Rise and Progress of the Society" which now celebrates its fiftieth anniversary. The treatment of the first topic — the Rise — may, perhaps, be aided by an illustration. It shall be drawn from the practice of the ancients, mentioned by Seneca, of building altars and offering worship at the sources of rivers. Remains of such temples, evidently Grecian, are still seen at the two sources of the Jordan; and substructions, older than Grecian, at that of the Chrysorrhoeas, esteemed by the people of Damascus "better than all the waters of Israel." In both these instances, however, the water from these sources soon unites with less pretentious streams, coming from a much greater distance. But what if there be no vast flood bursting forth at any one point? What if we find only here the bubbling fountain, at which the wild bird scarce slakes her thirst; there, the drops trickling from the face of a cliff; yonder, the superfluous moisture escaping from a bed of moss; and moisture from a thousand other places, in

varied forms, all collected by the slopes and channels which the Great Creator has provided for that purpose, into one vast Father of Waters, fertilizing the plains and bearing the commerce of half a continent? Plainly, you can erect your altar in no one place. You can worship only the Beneficent Wisdom which is everywhere, and which has so made the world that kindred good influences naturally flow together, and combine into broad streams of blessing to mankind.

So of the origin of our Society, and of our work. The sentiment out of which it grew, more or less definitely formed into specific plans, was everywhere, tending to realize itself in beneficent action for the colored race. This sentiment gushed forth at many points; so that many persons have been named as the originators of our enterprise. And there is some ground for each of these claims, and, doubtless, for many others that might have been advanced. They were originators, as truly as if there had been no others. Their relative merits cannot be settled by chronology, for the thought was often as fresh and original in the later projector as in any that had preceded him.

The earliest movement known to have any historical connection with our Society was the visit of the Rev. Samuel Hopkins of Newport, R.I. to his neighbor, the Rev. Ezra Stiles, April 7, 1773. The diary<sup>\*</sup> of Dr. Stiles has preserved the record. Dr. Hopkins proposed to educate two pious negro youths for the ministry, and send them to Africa as missionaries; hoping, evident-

ly, to send more in time. He needed assistance to meet the expense. The more practical mind of Dr. Stiles suggested that the enterprise would not succeed in that form ; that thirty or forty suitable persons must be sent out, and the whole conducted by a society formed for the purpose. This idea of a purely missionary settlement grew, in a few years, into a definite plan for a colony, with its agricultural, mechanical, and commercial interests. Aug. 31, 1773, Drs. Stiles and Hopkins issued a circular, inviting contributions to their enterprise. Feb. 7, 1774, a society of ladies in Newport had just made their first contribution ; and aid had been received from several parts of Massachusetts and Connecticut. Nov. 21<sup>st</sup>, two of the young men sailed for New York, on their way to Princeton, N.J. to be educated under Dr. Witherspoon, president of the college. Three days<sup>t</sup> later, bills were drawn on London for amounts collected in aid of their enterprise in England and in Scotland. April 10, 1776, another circular was issued. They then thought their colony would be on the Gold Coast, near Annamaboe, where one of their young men had influential relatives, who were anxious for his return, as had been learned by letters from Africa, confirming his own account.

The war of Independence suspended these labors ; but the plan and the purpose survived it. In 1784, and again in 1787, Dr. Hopkins endeavored to induce merchants to send out a vessel with a few emigrants, to procure lands and make a beginning, and with goods,

*to Tracy, Ezra Stiles, supra, : 280*  
*7 id. 5 1789*

the profits on which would, of course, diminish the expense. In March, 1787, he had consultations with Dr. William Thornton, "a young man from the West Indies," who proposed to take out a company of free blacks, and found a colony in Africa. A number volunteered to go with him, but the enterprise failed for want of funds. Dr. Thornton was afterwards a member of the first Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society.

A month later, Granville Sharpe and others sent the first colonists from London to Sierra Leone. This design was already known to Hopkins. Perhaps, too, Sharpe had heard of the plans of Hopkins, as they had been well known in England for some years; but they had no direct intercourse with each other till Hopkins wrote to Sharpe, Jan. 15, 1789, inquiring whether, and on what terms, and with what prospects, blacks from America could join the colony. There were then "Christian Blacks" desirous to emigrate, enough to form a church; and one of them was fit to be its pastor.

Unsuccessful in this, he continued his labors. In 1791, he wished the Connecticut Emancipation Society to be incorporated, with power to act as an education and colonization society. In 1793, he preached a sermon before a kindred society at Providence, which was published with an appendix, in which he advocated almost the exact course of action afterward adopted by this Society, and urged its execution by the United-States

Government, the several State Governments, and by voluntary societies.

Hopkins died Dec. 20, 1803; but the influence of these labors still lived. They must have been well known to Capt. Paul Cuffee of New Bedford, and the thirty emigrants whom he took to Sierra Leone in his own vessel, early in 1815; and in 1826, two of his "hopeful young men," Newport Gardner, aged seventy-five, and John Nubia,\* aged seventy, hoping to move their brethren by their example, sailed from Boston in the brig "Vine," the eighth vessel sent out by this Society.

The next movement having any historical result was in Virginia. Dec. 31, 1800, the Legislature, in secret session,—

*Resolved*, That the Governor be requested to correspond with the President of the United States, on the subject of purchasing lands without the limits of this State, whither persons obnoxious to the laws or dangerous to the peace of society may be removed."

The Governor, Monroe, in communicating this Resolution to the President, stated that it was passed in consequence of a conspiracy of slaves in and around Richmond, for which the conspirators, under existing laws, might be doomed to death. It was deemed more humane, and it was hoped not less expedient, to transport

\* Known in Hopkins's correspondence as Salmur Nubia, and familiarly in Newport as Jack Mason.

such offenders beyond the limits of the State. President Jefferson favored the idea, discussed the objections to several locations, said that "Africa would offer a last and undoubted resort," and promised his assistance. The Legislature, Jan. 16, 1802, directed a continuance of the correspondence, "for the purpose of obtaining a place without the limits of" the United States, "to which free negroes or mulattoes, and such negroes or mulattoes as may be emancipated, may be sent or choose to remove as a place of asylum;" requesting the President "to prefer Africa, or any of the Spanish or Portuguese settlements in South America." This resolution differs from the former, in that it does not contemplate a penal colony, and does contemplate increased facilities for emancipation, in a mode which the State did not esteem dangerous. The President corresponded with the British Government concerning Sierra Leone, and with the Portuguese concerning their possessions in South America, but without success. In 1805, Jan. 22, a resolution was passed, instructing the senators and requesting the representatives from that State to endeavor to procure a suitable territory in Louisiana. No action followed, and the matter slept ten years. Yet the proposition of Ann Mifflin, and the correspondence of John Lynd with Thomas Jefferson in 1811, showed that the idea was still alive and at work.

Another of these numerous origins must be noticed. In the spring of 1808, a few undergraduates of Williams College, Mass., formed themselves into a society, whose



object was, "to effect, in the persons of its members, a mission or missions to the heathen." In about two years, this society was transferred to the Theological Seminary at Andover, of which most of them had become members. Here they procured the formation of a "Society of Inquiry respecting Missions;" and there was thenceforth the chief seat of their labors. With becoming modesty, they regarded themselves as little else than mere school-boys, competent, indeed, to make inquiries, collect information, and discover wants that ought to be supplied, but needing the guidance of older and wiser men to mature judicious plans and execute them successfully. The proposal of four of them to go on a mission to the heathen in foreign lands, led directly to the formation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Suggestions from these young men, or some of them, also led to the formation of the American Bible Society, and, though in some cases less directly, several other kindred institutions, for which the state of feeling in the religious world was prepared.

Samuel J. Mills has been commonly regarded as the leader of these inquirers. With a companion, he made a journey of inquiry through large parts of the new settlements in the United States, especially the south-western part. He came back with the knowledge of many wants to be supplied, and fully convinced, that, to use his own words, "We must save the negroes, or the negroes will ruin us;" and that there was so much at the South of right feeling towards the negroes, that something might be

done towards saving them. The matter was abundantly discussed. A colony was proposed, somewhere in the vast wilderness between the Ohio and the great lakes. But one of them at length objected to that location. "Whether any of us live to see it or not," said he, "the time will come when white men will want all that region, and will have it, and our colony will be overwhelmed by them." So they concluded that the colony must be in Africa.

Mills went to New Jersey, to study theology with Dr. Griffin at Newark, and still more, as Dr. Griffin soon thought, to engage him and other leading men in that region in considering whether certain good objects could be accomplished, and how. While there, he originated the school for the education of pious blacks at Parsippany, some thirty miles from Princeton. It was placed under the care and patronage of the Synod of New Jersey; and thus the Presbyterian clergy of that State were brought into active connection with Mills, and his idea of saving the negro. His project of a colony north of the Ohio, or somewhere else, was well known to Dr. Alexander of Princeton, and doubtless to others.

Among the most eminent of that clergy was the Rev. Dr. Robert Finley. No record has been found of any direct intercourse between him and Mills; and there is no reason to suspect that Mills furnished him with a plan of a society, to be formed at Washington, for colonizing free blacks in Africa. That plan seems to have developed itself in his own mind, while contemplating that class of

facts to which Mills was so busily calling attention ; and it is certain that he had it under consideration as early as February, 1815. From about that time, he was industrious in recommending it to his friends ; but they, while admitting that its object was good, generally distrusted its success. After probably nearly two years of such labor, he called a public meeting at Princeton, to consider the subject ; but few besides the Faculties of the College and the Theological Seminary attended, and only Dr. Alexander appears to have aided him in commending it. Still he persevered ; and when Congress assembled, early in December, 1816, repaired to Washington, to attempt the formation of his proposed society. On his arrival, he went at once to his brother-in-law, Elias B. Caldwell. That these brothers had previously corresponded on the subject, is a probable conjecture, but not a known fact. Yet the idea of colonization was not then new to Mr. Caldwell. It had already been suggested from another source.

Late in February, 1816, the Virginia secret resolutions and correspondence of 1801-05 first became known to Charles Fenton Mercer, a member of the Legislature of that State. Not being under the obligation of secrecy, he at once made them known extensively in the State, and pledged himself to renew them at the next session of the Legislature. Being at Washington, — it must have been in March or April, — he made known the facts and his intentions to two friends. One was his old schoolmate at Princeton, Elias B. Caldwell, who approved his object,

and promised to use his influence with his Presbyterian friends in New Jersey in favor of it. The other was Francis S. Key, who would attempt a similar movement in Maryland. Gen. Mercer redeemed his pledge. His proposed resolution passed the House of Delegates, Dec. 14, by a vote of 132 to 14, and the Senate, Dec. 23, with one dissenting vote. This was done without any knowledge of the plans and movements of Dr. Finley for forming a society, and indeed without any expectation that a society would be formed. His idea was, that colonization would be carried by the State Governments, under the sanction and protection of the National Government. Still, this expression of Virginia's mind rendered important and perhaps indispensable aid to the formation and success of the Society; for the action of the House of Delegates was known in Washington before Gen. Mercer's resolution had passed the Senate, and before any public meeting was holden to form a society.

To arrange that meeting, and secure attendance upon it, cost Dr. Finley no slight labor. The goodness of the object was generally admitted; but, at the preliminary consultations, those invited and expected were generally absent. Charles Marsh, member of Congress from Vermont, noticed this disposition of almost everybody to leave this good work to others; and, as this was the only project that he had ever heard of, promising great good to the black race, he determined that it should not be allowed to die in that way. He decided that those

who knew the plan to be a good one should attend the meetings. Of course, as all who ever knew his inexhaustible adroitness and persistency will easily understand, "a very respectable number" of them attended the first public meeting, Dec. 21, 1816. Henry Clay, in the necessary absence of Judge Washington, was called to the chair. Elias B. Caldwell, the brother-in-law of Dr. Finley and the schoolmate and friend of Gen. Mercer, perfectly informed of the plans and movements of both, made the leading argument in favor of forming a society. He stated that public attention had been called to the subject in New Jersey, New York, Indiana, Tennessee, Virginia, and perhaps other places. He was supported by remarks from John Randolph of Virginia, and Robert Wright of Maryland. A committee was appointed to prepare a constitution, and the meeting adjourned for one week.

At the adjourned meeting, Dec. 28, the committee reported a constitution, which was adopted. Fifty gentlemen affixed their names to it as members. The twenty-third name on the list is Samuel J. Mills. What brought him there at that time, and what he was about while there, we can only infer from other parts of his history.

Jan. 1, 1817, the day fixed by the Constitution, the Society met for the election of officers. Hon. Bushrod Washington, of Virginia, was chosen President, with twelve Vice-Presidents, from nine States, including Georgia, Kentucky and Massachusetts, and one from

the District of Columbia. Dr. William Thornton, whose visit to Dr. Hopkins in 1787 has already been mentioned, was a member of the Board of Managers.

Thus the Society was formed and organized, not by the labors of any one projector, or by the influence of a movement in any one part of the country, but by the union of the tendencies which, remote from each other and independent of each other, had been working towards that result for more than forty years. That the Virginia movement, or the New-Jersey movement, or the New-England movements, would have accomplished any thing without the union of all, some may perhaps believe, but facts have not proved. Its true origin was, in the desire of good men everywhere to do the best thing then practicable for the black race, in this country and in Africa; that desire prompting all these movements, and sustaining them when providentially united in one.

Gen. Mercer was not present at the formation of the Society. His plan was, colonization by the National and State Governments; and, late in life, he expressed a doubt whether more good would not have been done by such action, if no Society had been formed; as the movement would then have had the united support of the South, which was lost by bringing Northern men into the movement, and thus throwing important Southern interests "open to the public discussions and acts of a Society spread through the United States, and to the interference of other counsellors and agents than their



own Government." At the time, however, he made no such objection. His confidential friends took a leading part in the formation of the Society, and he himself became one of its most active and efficient supporters. In a few weeks, he procured the formation of several auxiliaries in Virginia. He procured, by personal solicitation, large donations to its funds. He wrote several of its earlier Reports. He rendered various services, without which it is not easy to see how the Society could ever have become active.

The first step towards planting a colony in Africa was, to find and procure a location where it might be planted and prosper. For this purpose, Africa must be visited, and preliminary arrangements made. Samuel J. Mills offered himself for that service, was accepted, and authorized to select his companion. He selected his friend, Ebenezer Burgess, now Rev. Dr. Burgess, of Dedham, Mass., the man who, years before, had opposed the plan for colonizing north the Ohio, because white men would want that country, and argued that the colony must be in Africa. Their letter of instructions was dated Nov. 5, 1817. Money to repay the expense of the expedition was borrowed, and the loan repaid from funds raised by Gen. Mercer and Rev. William Meade, afterwards Bishop Meade of Virginia.

They sailed Nov. 16; Mills remarking to one of his associates in these movements, as he was about to embark, "This is the most important enterprise in which I have ever been engaged." Arriving in England in

December, they were courteously received by His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, Patron and President, and by the other officers of the African Institution. Mr. Wilberforce introduced them to Lord Bathurst, Secretary of State for the Colonies, who gave them letters to the Governor and other officers at Sierra Leone, directing them to aid the explorers in their explorations. Having touched at the Gambia, they arrived at Sierra Leone, March 22, 1818. The Governor and other officers received them with great personal kindness, and very literally obeyed the instructions of the Home Government, as to furnishing facilities for inquiry, but did not conceal their unwillingness that an American Colony should be established in their vicinity. The principal merchants felt the same unwillingness.

They were more cordially received by the members of the "Friendly Society," instituted among the colonists at the suggestion of Paul Cuffee in 1811. Its President, John Kizell, who had been a slave in the West Indies and the United States, entered heartily into their plans, accompanied them on some of their explorations, and introduced them to native chiefs over whom he possessed much influence. They examined the coast as far as Sherbro, obtained promises, that, on the arrival of colonists, suitable land should be furnished for their settlement, and being unable, for want of time and funds, to visit the Bassa Country, Cape Palmas, Accra, and the Bight of Benin, as they desired, returned to Sierra



Leone, and, May 22, embarked for England on their homeward voyage.

When they left home, Mills was suffering from a pulmonary disease. The climate of England aggravated it. That of Africa suspended its operation, as it often does. A few days after leaving Sierra Leone it returned, aided by a severe cold; and on the 16th of June, he gently expired, and at sunset his body was committed to the ocean. Nearly thirty years ago, I wrote, "It was fitting that the remains of such a man, whose character no monument could suitably represent, should rest where none could be attempted." Now, it has been made my duty to say, that, if the Society will cause a monument to his memory to be erected in Liberia, the funds are ready to defray the expense. Liberia has recorded her debt to both explorers, by uniting their names in the name of Millsburgh, which, as the record states, was devised for that purpose.

Their report established the fact, that territory might be procured and a colony planted. But how was the Society to plant a colony, with less than three thousand dollars in its treasury, and its receipts less than one hundred dollars a month? "A great political necessity" furnished the means.

The Act of Congress of March 2, 1807, had prohibited the importation of slaves after the end of that year, and provided for punishing the importer; but the slave so imported became subject, like all other persons, to the laws of the State in which he was found. In

several of the States, laws were enacted and legal proceedings devised, under which it was still found profitable to import slaves, and incur the penalty, if it could not be evaded, as it often was. The first attempt to interfere with this policy of the slave-traders was made by the legislature of Georgia. That legislature enacted, Dec. 19, 1817, that the Governor should take all such imported slaves out of the hands of private speculators into his own custody, and sell them at auction for the benefit of the State treasury; provided, however, that if the Colonization Society would undertake to transport them to Africa, and would pay all expenses incurred by the State, the Governor was requested to aid the Society as he might deem expedient. This was the first official movement, if not the first suggestion, for the return of recaptured slaves to Africa.

The Act of Congress of April 20, 1818, increased the penalties of importation, but still left the slaves imported subject to the laws of the several States, and the work still went on.

While Gen. Mercer was preparing the Second Annual Report, to be presented in January, 1819, his attention was drawn to these laws, and the practice under them. The Report discussed the subject, and about forty pages of its appendix were filled with documents showing the facts. In Congress, Gen. Mercer procured the drafting of a bill to remedy the evil, which passed both Houses, and was approved by the President, Monroe, March 3, 1819. By this Act, all slaves illegally imported, or taken

at sea, were to be kept in the custody of the United-States Government till removed beyond the limits of the United States ; and the President was to appoint an agent or agents on the coast of Africa to receive them, and the sum of one hundred thousand dollars was appropriated to meet the expense.

About six weeks after this Act was passed, the Hon. W. H. Crawford of Georgia, Secretary of the Treasury, found, in a Georgia newspaper, an advertisement of illegally imported slaves, to be sold at auction under the State law of 1817. He immediately informed the Society ; and the Rev. William Meade was sent to Georgia as its agent, to receive them in behalf of the Society. Litigation with Spanish claimants prevented immediate success ; but, some years afterwards, they were delivered to the Society, and sent to Africa. There was then about fifty thousand dollars in the State treasury, as the proceeds of such sales. This the Society hoped to obtain ; but there was no law authorizing the Governor to pay it over, and it was not done.

President Monroe, as appears by his Message of Dec. 17, 1819, understood the law of March 3 to mean, that a suitable residence must be provided, on the coast of Africa, for the agents and those intrusted to their care. For this purpose he determined to send a ship to the coast, with two agents, and the necessary men and means to procure a place and make it habitable.

Evidently, this work of the Government and the enterprise of the Society might best be prosecuted by

their united action in establishing one settlement, where the agents of both should reside, and to which emigrants and recaptured slaves should be sent. The Government appointed the Rev. Samuel Bacon, already in the service of the Society, as its agent, with whom Mr. John P. Bankson was afterwards associated. The Society appointed Dr. Samuel A. Crozer its sole agent. The Government chartered the ship "Elizabeth," of three hundred tons, and "agreed to receive on board such free blacks, recommended by the Society, as might be required for the purposes of the agency." Dr. Crozer took out goods and stores for the purchase of land and the use of the emigrants. The emigrants were all considered as attached to this joint agency of the Government, and were to be entirely subjected to its control till regularly discharged. They were to erect cottages for at least three hundred recaptured Africans, and cultivate land for their own subsistence. For the expenses of the expedition, the Government placed more than thirty thousand dollars in the hands of Mr. Bacon, and sent a ship of war to co-operate. Thus provided, the "Elizabeth" sailed from New York, Feb. 6, 1820, with eighty-eight emigrants from Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New York.

And in this co-operation, to which the Government found itself forced by its own necessities, the Society first found the power to go forward and accomplish its work. And if the ancients were right in considering the immense fountain which bursts forth by the side of

a streamlet and transforms it into a river, the true source of the river, to be honored by altars and worship, with equal propriety may your monuments distinguish this point in the stream of your history.

President Monroe appears to have been a constant friend of colonization ever since 1801, when, as Governor of Virginia, he corresponded with Jefferson on the subject. He gave an attentive ear to the Annual Reports of the Society, showing the condition of the slave-trade, and the need of action for its suppression. His known sentiments encouraged Gen. Mercer to prepare and procure the enactment of the law of 1819. His interpretation and execution of that law furnished the means by which the work was begun. And the then youthful and ardent friend, whose presence forbids fit eulogy now, was right, when he first suggested that the metropolis of the nascent State should, by its name, commemorate his merits.

The first emigrants were to erect houses for three hundred recaptured slaves. The whole number of such, for whom the Government has found it necessary to provide through the Society, has been five thousand seven hundred and twenty-two. The resident agency of the United States for recaptured Africans continued, though occasionally vacant, till the declaration of Liberian independence. All this could not have been done, and well done, without a colony large and strong enough to live by its own vitality; and, therefore, the substantial success of our enterprise was a national necessity.

Such, as we have seen, were the forces which caused this Society to be formed; such the process of its formation; such the national need of its aid, which procured for it the means of successful activity. Having seen these, let us pass rapidly over events, the exciting and tragic interest of which have caused them to be abundantly recorded elsewhere,—the arrival of the “Elizabeth” at Sierra Leone; the cordial reception of the emigrants by Kizell, at Campelar, his own place on Sherbro Island; the discouraging attempts to purchase land for a permanent settlement, defeated,—not by the treachery of Kizell, for he was no traitor,—but by secret influences from those at Sierra Leone, who wished the colony all success, but at a much greater distance from themselves; the hardships, sickness, and deaths heroically endured; the removal from Campelar to Fourah Bay; the purchase of Cape Mesurado by Capt. Stockton and Dr. Ayres, at the risk of their lives; the arrival of the colonists, and their lodgment on an island, Jan. 7, 1822; the occupation of the Cape, April 25; the return of the agents, and the proposal that the emigrants also should return, and the enterprise be abandoned; the heroic reply of Elijah Johnson, “No: I have been two years searching for a home in Africa, and I have found it; and I shall stay here;” the heroic determination of the others to remain with him; his appointment as sole agent; the troubles and dangers from the first, and then, and afterwards, from a host of native kings, who regretted the sale of the Cape, and determined



to expel or exterminate the colony, lest it should interfere with the slave-trade ; the offer of a force of marines from a British man-of-war, if Johnson would only cede a few feet of ground on which to erect a British flag ; his prompt reply, " We want no flag-staff put up here, that will cost more to get it down again than it will to whip the natives ;" the arrival of Ashmun, and his assumption of the agency, Aug. 9, 1822 ; his energetic labors, both diplomatic and military, for the protection of the colony ; the assault on the settlement on the morning of Nov. 11, by about eight hundred natives, and their repulse by the thirty-five colonists, capable of bearing arms ; the second assault, by perhaps twice their former number, Dec. 2, and their final defeat. Passing by all these, let us examine a crisis in the affairs of the colony, involving and elucidating a principle, and itself needing elucidation.

There had been complaints against the colonists of turbulence and insubordination. They, in turn, accused the Agents of oppression and other offences. The trouble grew into what was called " mutiny " and " sedition." Numbers utterly refused obedience to the Agent, and proceeded to take forcibly their supply of food from the public store. How can we account for the fact, that such men as Lot Cary, and others, were betrayed into such conduct ? True, there had been complaints about the distribution of lands, and other acts of the several Agents, and representations had been sent to the Society ; but these are insufficient to explain it.

The explanation must be found in the fact, that the colony had really no civil government. What occupied the place of a civil government was a pure despotism of an agent, resting on no legal basis, and possessing no physical force with which to compel obedience. Of course, the colonists, though they appear to have been far from comprehending the difficulty, felt that something was wanting, something out of order, something wrong; and were "insubordinate."

That such an assertion may be received, it needs to be proved. Consider, then, that the "Elizabeth" and her company were sent out by the United States, and not by the Society. Ship, money, and men were under the direction of the government's agents, with instructions to build houses for three hundred recaptured slaves. Their instructions said, "You are not to exercise any power or authority founded on the principles of colonization, but to confine yourselves to that of performing the benevolent intentions of the Act of Congress of March 3, 1819." And the President, in his message of Dec. 20, 1819, said that they would receive "an express injunction to exercise no power founded on the principle of colonization, or other power than that of performing the benevolent offices above recited, by the permission and sanction of the existing government under which they may establish themselves." There is not only no authority given to the agents to establish a government, but an express assumption that the place selected would be under a government existing inde-



pendently of them, "by the permission and sanction" of which they would act. Evidently the colonists had no civil government derived from this source.

Does the deed of cession by which the territory was holden throw any light on the subject? That deed

"Witnesseth, That whereas certain persons, citizens of the United States of America, are desirous to establish themselves on the western coast of Africa, and have invested Capt. Robert F. Stockton and Eli Ayres with full powers to treat with and purchase from us, the said kings, princes and headmen, certain lands [which are described], we do hereby, in consideration of [certain specified articles of merchandise], forever cede and relinquish the above-described lands to Capt. Robert F. Stockton and Eli Ayres, To Have and To Hold the said premises for the use of these said citizens of America."

We must carefully observe that Capt. Stockton and Dr. Ayres do not appear in this transaction as agents of the United States, or of the Colonization Society, but as agents of "certain persons" who were "desirous of establishing *themselves* on the western coast of Africa," that is, of the colonists. The deed says, had invested them with full powers to treat with kings for the cession of territory. Certainly, land bought by their authorized agents for their use, and ceded for their use "forever," was their land. It never became the property of the United States, or of the Society. The next paragraph confirms this view:—

“The contracting parties pledge themselves to live in peace and friendship forever; and do further contract not to make war, or otherwise molest or disturb each other.”

The “contracting parties” who thus mutually pledge themselves are evidently the kings, princes and headmen, on the one part, and the colonists on the other.

With the right of soil, the right of jurisdiction passed from the kings to the other contracting party,—the colonists. They were the supreme lords of the soil, and had a natural right to organize and establish a government for it. But they had not exercised that right. There was no existing civil government resting on that basis.

The Society had acted on this subject seasonably. Its Board of Managers, June 26, 1820, while the emigrants were still at Campelar, adopted a “Constitution for the Government of the African Settlement at——.” Of course, it could not go into operation as a civil government “at——,” or at all, while they were living within the jurisdiction of some other government already established. Its first article, as amended Dec. 20, was,—

“All persons born within the limits of the territory held by the American Colonization Society in ——, or remaining there to reside, shall be free, and entitled to all such rights and privileges as are enjoyed by the citizens of the United States.”

By its own terms, it applied only to territory held by

the Society; and Cape Mesurado, as has been shown, was not held by the Society, but by Capt. Stockton and Dr. Ayres, as agents of the emigrants; that is, by the emigrants themselves. What authority had a constitution, formed by an unincorporated association of private individuals in another country, three thousand miles off, over a territory which was not their property, but the property of its inhabitants, who, acting as a sovereign people, had procured it by a treaty of cession and peace with sovereign princes? The seventh article however, provides that "every settler coming to the age of twenty-one years, and those now of age, shall take an oath or affirmation to support the constitution." Mr. Ashmun, in his address to the colonists, March 22, 1824, reminded them that they had taken that oath. By that oath, the individuals who took it certainly placed themselves under a moral obligation to obey the constitution thus made for them by others, though they had never adopted it, as a body, by any public act. Let us look, then, at its provisions.

The first article, as we have seen, provides that all the colonists should be entitled to "all such rights and privileges as are enjoyed by the citizens of the United States." The word "citizens," having been substituted by amendment for "free people," must be taken to secure all the rights and privileges by which citizens are distinguished from "people" merely "free." The oath bound them to support this article as much as any other.

“ART. 2. — The Colonization Society shall, from time to time, make all such rules as they may think fit for the government of the settlement, until they shall withdraw their agents, and leave the settlers to govern themselves.”

This expressly takes from these “citizens” the “right and privilege” of making any law or “rule” for their own government, and subjects them to whatever rules the Society shall “see fit” to make for them; and, taken in connection with the tenth article, restrains them from the “right and privilege” of altering or amending their own constitution, and confers that right on the Managers of the Society. The eighth article confers unlimited legislative power on the Society’s resident Agents, subject only to repeal by the Board of Managers.

The third article invests the Agents with all judicial power, except such as they should delegate to Justices of the Peace of their own appointment, if they should choose to appoint any.

The fourth article gives the Agents the appointment of all officers not appointed by the Board of Managers, and of judging for themselves what officers are needed.

The “settlers” being thus deprived of all voice in their own government, either in the making of laws or the choice of officers to administer them, it is not easy to see what rights and privileges enjoyed by citizens of the United States, in distinction from people merely free, were left to them.

It does not appear from any published record, that the colonists understood those legal difficulties; but it

is evident from their conduct that they did not feel that reverence for laws thus made for them, which American "citizens" usually feel for laws in the making of which they have borne their part. There was "insubordination." Ashmun, faithful to the Society and to his own convictions, did his best to repress it, but in vain. Complaints were sent to the Society against his administration; and the evil increased, till, in utter discouragement, he put the government into the hands of Elijah Johnson, and embarked for the Cape Verde Islands. He had already informed the Board of Managers, that, in his opinion, "the evil was incurable by any means which fall within their existing provisions."

In this emergency, the Government, on representations of the Society, sent out the armed schooner "Porpoise," with Ralph Randolph Gurley, a young man then unknown to fame, duly commissioned and empowered by the Government and the Society to ascertain the condition of affairs, and "to make such temporary arrangements for the security of the public interests and the government of the establishment, as, upon proper consideration, circumstances might, in his judgment, require." Touching at Porto Praya, he unexpectedly met Mr. Ashmun, who returned with him to Cape Mesurado, where they arrived Aug. 13, 1824.

On their voyage of three weeks to the Cape, they carefully discussed these troubles, their causes, and their remedy. After their arrival, the colonists were heard and consulted, misapprehensions were dispelled, and

specific grievances received satisfactory attention. But the chief attention was given to establishing "an efficient government, founded in the approbation of the people, and adaptable not only to their present but future necessities." The probable necessity of such a work had occurred to Mr. Gurley on his voyage from the Cape Verdes, if not before; and facts ascertained after his arrival fully proved it.

In the end, a "Plan for the Civil Government of Liberia" was adopted, according to which there was to be a Vice-agent, appointed by the Agent from three nominated by the people, unless he saw fit to disapprove the choice and order a new election. He was to advise and assist the Agent, and perform his duties in case of absence or disability. Two Councillors, to be associated with the Vice-agent as a council on all public affairs, and several important committees, were to be appointed in like manner. There was to be a judiciary, consisting of the Agent and two Justices of the Peace appointed by him; and he was to appoint the necessary executive officers. The supremacy of the Society, in cases of last resort, was retained and established.

The colonists, now increased to a hundred, were convened "beneath the thatched roof of the first rude house for divine worship ever erected in the colony." The Plan of Government was read and explained to them, and received their unanimous approval, and solemn pledge "to maintain it as the constitution of their choice." Receiving also the assent of the special Agent



of the Society and the United States, sent out with full power on their part "to establish a government," no one could deny that it was, from that hour, in force on a legitimate basis; and, with amendments and changes regularly made as occasions have required, it is in force still.

True, the Society had still the ultimate decision of all questions of government; but it henceforth held this power, not by its own assumption, but by the vote of the people, who, by their own act, made the Society a department of their own government.

This change was not the work of Mr. Ashmun. He distrusted the fitness of the colonists to take any part in the government, and only consented to it as an experiment, because some change must be made. He was even alarmed at its ready and unanimous acceptance by the people, fearing that they did not understand it, or reserved the expression of their dissent for a more favorable opportunity.

Neither was it the work of the Board of Managers. When reported to them, they resolved, Dec. 29, 1824, that "such parts as could not well be dispensed with might be tried as an experiment of the Agent," but gave it no further sanction; and in their Annual Report in January, without publishing it, plainly intimated their dissent.

The whole responsibility, therefore, for this Plan of Government, rested on him who proposed it and those who adopted it. Events soon justified their action, even



in the judgment of those who at first condemned it. At a meeting held May 18, 1825, it was

“*Resolved*, That the Board of Managers, considering the satisfactory information afforded by recent accounts from the colony of the successful operation of the plan for the civil government thereof, as established by their Agents in August last, and seeing therein reasons to reconsider their instructions to the Agent of the 29th of December, 1824, now approve the principles in that form of government, and give their sanction to the same.”

And in their next Annual Report, January, 1826, they say, —

“The new system of government organized in the colony immediately after the return of the present Agent, Mr. Ashmun, from the Cape de Verdes, has resulted in the most beneficial effects. It was deemed important to render, as far as practicable, all the political arrangements of the colony, so many preparatory measures to its independence; and to this end is the government which has been established believed to be particularly adapted. The whole system went into operation with the full sanction of the people. The spirit of restlessness and insubordination ceased from the first day of its operation; indolence, despondency, and distrust were succeeded by industry, enterprise, and confidence; and the experience of more than a year has confirmed the hope, that it will, at least for a considerable time, fulfil all the purposes of its institution.”

Mr. Ashmun's distrust, also, soon disappeared. His despatches authorized and compelled the change of opinion in the Board of Managers. He soon disbanded, as

useless, the military guard of twelve men, which he at first thought necessary for his own protection amidst the dangers of the experiment. And, early in 1828, the Board received from him a plan of government, the same in principle, and to some extent in language; but drawn out in much greater detail, and placing a much greater amount of power directly in the hands of the people; and at a meeting of the Managers, Oct. 22, 1828, it was adopted by them as the Constitution of Liberia.

The modesty of the principal actor, and his delicate regard for the feelings of others, in his *Life of Ashmun* and in the Annual Reports prepared by him, have made the part he acted less prominent than its merits deserve. He has even left it doubtful how far he saw the defects and inconsistencies of the original constitution. But it is enough for his glory, that he alone among white men saw the safety of trusting a negro people with some part in the management of their own concerns; and that, by boldly acting on his belief, he placed his name on the not long list of legislators whose wisdom organized States on principles that secured peace, permanency, coherence, and a healthy growth.

The second decade, and the first half of the third,—from 1830 to 1845,—were distinguished by the independent action of State societies; of Maryland first, purchasing and settling Cape Palmas; then of New York; then of Pennsylvania; then of Pennsylvania and New York united, and the planting of the settle-

ments on the St. John's River by their united action ; the setting apart, by the parent Society, of lands for the Kentucky, Mississippi, and Louisiana Societies, on which, however, separate colonies were never organized ; the plan for uniting all these colonies, planted and projected, in one federal republic ; all these things leading naturally to changes in the constitution of the Parent Society, making its supreme Board of Directors mainly a Board of Delegates from the State Societies. A proper discussion of this period would require a laborious examination of the published and unpublished documents of the Parent and the several State Societies, and of the often conflicting recollections and opinions of living witnesses. Its discussion is the less important, because those arrangements, however expedient or even necessary they may have been or appeared to be at the time, have passed away. Those colonies are now only parts of a single republic, "one and indivisible ;" and though most of the State Societies still retain the power of separate action, they find little occasion to use it. Let us, therefore, pass on to the next topic involving a crisis.

January, 1845, the Legislature of Liberia was in session ; for, by successive amendments of her constitution, she now had a legislature, with power to make all necessary laws, subject, however, to the veto of the Society. She had a governor, — Joseph J. Roberts, — first elected lieutenant-governor by the people, and appointed governor by the Society after the death of Governor Bu-

chanan, in 1841. Her government was authorized to make treaties with the neighboring tribes; but these, also, were subject to the veto of the Society. For several years, however, the Society had found no occasion demanding the exercise of its veto power. By treaties with the native powers, several valuable tracts of territory had been acquired, including some important points for trade; and settlements had been made upon them, and regular government established. Laws had been enacted, regulating commerce, and imposing duties on imported goods.

For several centuries, British subjects had been accustomed to trade on this coast for slaves and other African commodities. Even after the act of Parliament of 1807 prohibiting the slave-trade, they continued the traffic as they could. Some of them dealt in slaves, at least till June, 1813, when His Majesty's ship "Thais" landed forty men at Cape Mesurado, and after a battle, in which they lost one man killed, stormed the barracks of Bostock and McQuinn, British subjects, and captured their owners. When direct participation in the slave-trade had become too dangerous to be continued, they still carried on a lucrative commerce with the natives, and with slave-traders of other nations, who were glad to find on the coast a supply of such English goods as were necessary for their business. Very naturally, such men were unwilling that a regular government, with law, civilization, and Christianity, should take possession of their old haunts of trade. They refused

to obey the laws. They landed goods without paying duties; and when the goods were seized by the collector, and sold according to law, they applied to the British Government for redress.

That Government seems to have been, at first, somewhat embarrassed. It opened a correspondence with ours, to ascertain whether Liberia was a colony of the United States. Our government replied, through Mr. Everett at London and Mr. Upshur at Washington, that Liberia was not a colony of the United States, but "an independent political community," founded for benevolent purposes, in which all nations ought to desire its success; and that, as such, it needed and had a right to acquire territory and govern it, which right all nations ought to respect.

Having ascertained this, the British Government at once proceeded to sustain the claims of the British traders, denying the right of the Liberians to acquire territory by treaty, or to govern that lately acquired; though, for more than twenty years, they had been allowed, without objection, to acquire and govern Cape Mesurado and other important places; and they were made to understand that the British navy would enforce this decision of the British Government.

These difficulties were now before the legislature. What could be done? A treaty must be negotiated with Great Britain. The Liberian Constitution made no provision for negotiating treaties, except with the neighboring tribes, and those subject to the veto of the

Society. The Society was not a sovereign power, with whom Great Britain could negotiate; nor had it, under its own constitution or that of Liberia, any power concerning treaties, except that of veto. A crisis had come, to which the structure of the Liberian Government was not adapted. The legislature informed the Society of the difficulties and dangers growing out of their alleged want of national sovereignty, and requested its consideration and advice.

When the Directors of the Society met in January, 1846, these matters had been before their minds for months, and they were prepared to act. The constitution of the Society was amended in several respects, and especially by striking out whatever related to the government of the colonies. It was then

*Resolved*, That, in the opinion of this Board, the time has arrived when it is expedient for the people of the Commonwealth of Liberia to take into their own hands the whole work of self-government, including the management of all their foreign relations; and that this Society should cease to exercise any part of the same.

*Resolved*, That we recommend to them so to amend their constitution, as is necessary for the accomplishment of this object.

*Resolved*, That we recommend to them to publish to the world a declaration of their true character, as a sovereign and independent State.

The resolutions took this shape for the sake of avoiding all appearance of conferring rights of sovereignty on the people of Liberia. Those rights were theirs already,



and had been ever since they were a people. They were advised, not to make themselves into a new sovereign State not before existing, but to publish a declaration of their true character, as being one already. It was not for the Society to give them a new constitution. It was their right and their duty, as a sovereign people, to make one for themselves. The Society did not relinquish to them its power in their government. What it had, they had conferred upon it by their constitution, and they were advised to take it away.

On the reception of this advice in Liberia, the legislature, at a special session, instructed the governor to submit the question to the people in their primary assemblies. The people voted, Oct. 27, 1846, in favor of assuming the entire responsibility of their government. The legislature, at its next session, ordered a convention of delegates to form a new constitution. The convention assembled, and, after twenty-one days of deliberation, adopted, on the twenty-sixth day of July, 1847, their new Constitution and Declaration of Independence. In September, the Constitution was ratified by the almost unanimous vote of the people in their primary assemblies. The Governor, Joseph J. Roberts, was elected President. On the third day of January, 1848, he delivered his inaugural address; and the new government went into operation. In the course of that year, the independence of the Republic was formally acknowledged by the governments of Great Britain and



France. It has since been acknowledged by nearly all the leading States of Europe and America.

Nor is the young Republic without influence in the family of nations. In 1853, agents of the British Government were endeavoring to prosecute the coolie-trade in the vicinity, and even within the legal jurisdiction, of the Republic. The vigorous and decided measures of President Roberts checked it; and, after a few words in Parliament, the attempt was abandoned. A few years afterwards, agents of the French Government engaged in a similar attempt so pertinaciously, that President Benson was obliged to send his predecessor as ambassador to Paris on the subject. The result was the entire abolition of that traffic on the whole coast of Africa, east as well as west.

It was a remark of one of the wisest men who ever acted as agent for a colonization society, that Divine Providence intends Liberia as a proof to all nations, that free institutions are adapted to the wants and capacities of every race of men. To prove it, God has taken a portion of the race that the wisdom of this world would pronounce — indeed, had pronounced — the most incapable of successful self-government, and has placed the duty and burden of self-government upon them; and they have borne it, and they are bearing it, with complete success. The whole history of Liberia corroborates this remark, — from the first years of Ashmun, when affairs went badly for want of self-government; from Gurley's first visit, when the introduction of the principle,

and a little of the practice, gave peace and prosperity; down to the present time, when that little young republic is not only recognized as one in the family of nations, but commands a degree of respect, and exerts an amount of influence, among the nations, altogether out of proportion to her population or her resources.

The principles and designs from which she originated, and the whole course of her history, and of God's dealings with her, authorize us to offer with confidence the prayer for her perpetuity, *Esto perpetua*.

A few words are demanded by a topic which could not be introduced in its chronological place without disturbing the continuity of the narrative.

It will be remembered that when Dr. Hopkins visited Dr. Stiles, in 1773, it was to consult about educating two young men as missionaries to Africa, and their plan for a colony grew out of their conviction of the necessity of such a basis for missionary labors; and that, of the young men educated through their exertions, two, in 1826, when they were old, actually sailed to Liberia, not expecting to live and labor, but to set an example of Christian enterprise for the land of their fathers. The missionary element, it is well known, was strong in the minds of Mills and his associates at Andover, and of Finley and his brethren in New Jersey. However strong it may have been in the minds of individuals in Virginia, it could not well show itself in their legislative

action, and does not, therefore, appear on the record. But it was actively alive among the colored people in that State. They, even as early as 1815, before our Society was formed, organized an African Missionary Society in Richmond, which contributed from a hundred to a hundred and fifty dollars annually. This might be, and probably was, expended in the support of English missions at or near Sierra Leone. In 1818, a similar society was formed in Petersburg, which, in April, 1819, proposed to our Society that some of its members should be sent out as colonists for missionary purposes. The Richmond Society sent out its most able and zealous member, the Rev. Lot Cary, who went out in our second company, by the "Nautilus," arriving at Sierra Leone in March, 1821, and was among the first who took possession of Cape Mesurado. The Richmond Society is understood to have made remittances to him for several years, and perhaps to the close of his life, in 1828. Besides his labors at and near his home, he commenced a mission, fifty miles distant, among the Vey people at Cape Mount; employing John Revey, afterwards Secretary of the Maryland Colony at Cape Palmas, as a schoolmaster. It was of short continuance; but its influence on the mind of one of the pupils led to the invention, years afterwards, of the syllabic alphabet for the Vey language, the discovery of which by a German missionary, after it had been long in use, excited much interest in the literary world.

This opening for missions attracted attention in

Europe. In October, 1825, the Rev. Dr. Blumhardt, Principal of the Missionary College at Basle in Switzerland, wrote to Mr. Ashmun, requesting information on the subject. Mr. Ashmun replied favorably the next April. Four young men were sent out as missionaries. The climate did not allow this mission to be permanent. Some died, and the health of others failed ; but, before its dispersion, it exerted a beneficial influence, especially on the minds of some young Liberians, which is felt to this day.

The first white missionary from the United States appears to have been the Rev. Calvin Holton, a Baptist, who sailed from Boston in the "Vine," in 1826. "He was not suffered to continue, by reason of death." He was followed by a noble army of martyrs, Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Episcopalian ; but their usefulness has consisted mostly in the support and direction given to pious Liberians who have labored under them or with them, and who often well supplied their places when vacant. As a result, nearly all the churches in the Republic contain native communicants, who are converts from heathenism.

In February, March, and April, 1819, two missionary explorers from Sierra Leone, with an interpreter, carefully examined the whole coast from Sherbro to the St. John's River. They suffered repeatedly from theft, detected and defeated two conspiracies to rob and murder them, and returned, having found no place where a mission could be hopefully attempted. Our first emigrants sailed in February, 1820.

Now, that whole line of coast, with as much more beyond it to the south and east, some five hundred and twenty miles in all, is under the jurisdiction of a Christian State, with Christian laws and institutions; with its common schools, high schools, and college; with a nominally Christian population of some fifteen to twenty thousand, and a native population of some hundreds of thousands, among whom heathenism has lost much of its power, and is fast losing the remainder; among whom missionary stations are numerous, both on the coast and in the interior; the line of apparent danger, or even difficulty, silently and quietly receding before them as they advance. And Liberian Christians are planning and acting very intelligently for their advancement.

Attorney-General Erskine, of Liberia, emigrated from East Tennessee with his father in his boyhood. He has been, for many years, one of the most able and influential Presbyterian missionaries there. If our ship, the "Golconda," has made a successful voyage, she has just landed at Cape Mount a hundred and forty-four emigrants, selected by him in his native region, to strengthen the settlement at Cape Mount, so as make it a better base for missionary operations among the Veys.

The Vey people are intimately connected with the Mandingoes, the great trading-people of Western Africa, who read, write, and keep accounts in the Arabic language, and whose commercial intercourse extends to the comparatively civilized nations of Central Africa,

where the Arabic is vernacular. To those nations, European missionary societies have been in vain seeking access through Egypt and Abessinia for half a century. Liberia College has already begun to distribute Arabic books, from the press of the American mission at Beirût in Syria, among the Mandingoes; and that mission has furnished books for further distribution, containing a Circular Letter "from the learned men of Mount Lebanon to the learned men of Moghreb," that is, of the West, inviting correspondence, and offering a supply of books through Liberia College, the geographical position of which, and its objects, are described. As things move slowly in Africa, the desired result, though confidently expected, must be distant. But the planting of those hundred and forty-four missionary colonists at Cape Mount is exactly the right thing, at the right place, to hasten it; and it is only one of many instances showing the care and thought of Liberian Christians for their brethren still in the darkness of heathenism.

Thus the early missionary plans of Hopkins and Stiles, of Mills and Burgess, and Finley and Caldwell, and of Lot Cary and his society at Richmond, are more than executed already; and of their ultimate hope, the Christian civilization of Africa, the dawn distinctly appears.



A D D R E S S

OF THE

RT. REV. THOMAS M. CLARK, D.D.





## ADDRESS OF RT. REV. THOMAS M. CLARK, D.D.

BISHOP OF PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, RHODE ISLAND.

---

WE celebrate the present anniversary of the American Colonization Society under peculiar and interesting auspices. Fifty years ago a few far-sighted Christian men, actuated by a pure and earnest faith, and having in view simply the elevation of the African and the rescue of Africa from barbarism, laid the foundation of an enterprise which has ever since pursued its quiet and unobtrusive way, gradually gaining favor and influence, and commending itself more and more to the favor of the judicious and the good. It has not failed to encounter some opposition, and this has come from very different quarters. On the one hand, it has been objected that the policy of the Society tended to rivet the chains of African slavery, and, on the other, that it must result in disturbing and making insecure the relations of the master and the slave. Both of these objections could hardly be valid; and now that, in the providence of God, the institution of slavery in this Republic no longer exists, both have ceased to have any pertinence, as indeed neither ever had any foundation.

The cause of African colonization stands before the nation to-day in a new and most important aspect. By a process which, ten years ago, no one dreamed of or thought possible, four millions of slaves have been suddenly emancipated. The freedom of the African has been purchased at a terrible price; and the wrongs which our fathers inflicted upon these people when they tore them from their native homes, and brought them here to labor and die on a foreign shore, we have been made to expiate in tears and blood. Neither has this great end been accomplished without the endurance of terrible suffering on the part of the slaves themselves. Thousands upon thousands have perished by the highway, of cold and hunger; and, in this bleak January night, tens of thousands are wanderers without a roof to shelter them.

What is to be done for this great multitude of human beings, thus suddenly cast upon their own resources? How are the new relations in which they stand to society to be adjusted? What is to be their social condition and their final destiny? These are questions involving one of the most delicate, difficult, and solemn problems ever presented to the consideration of man. They demand the broadest, profoundest, and most impartial judgment. It is unfortunate for the country, and unpropitious to the liberated slave, that they have become so intimately identified with political controversy, and, therefore, so much in danger of being handled mainly with a view to political and party ends. The call is all

the more imperative upon those who really have at heart the welfare of the African, and honestly desire his elevation, to rally in his behalf, and, if possible, save him from being crushed between the Northern and the Southern mill-stone.

The opinions of men as to the probable future of the African in this country are various and discordant. The remark most common upon the lips of those whom you meet in ordinary intercourse is, that the race will, sooner or later, fade away and become extinct. All history, we are told, shows that it is impossible for two distinct races to dwell together on terms of equality in the same land; and the inferior must yield either to the process of absorption or extermination.

The statistics of our Northern cities are cited in confirmation of this theory. When the census of 1860 was taken in Philadelphia, it was found that, during a period of six months, there were among this people only one hundred and forty-eight births to three hundred and six deaths; the deaths being more than double the births. In Boston, from the years 1855 to 1862, there were three hundred and four births and five hundred deaths. This ratio, of course, is very much affected by the laws of climate. The North is not the natural home of the African, and he can hardly be expected to thrive there; but the returns from the whole United States show that while the rate of annual deaths among the whites is less than two and three-quarters per cent, or about one in every thirty-seven of the living, among the colored, it is

about three and a half per cent, or one in every twenty-eight.

In rejoinder to this theory, it is argued, that inasmuch as labor is the great want of our land, and there are departments of work which this race can supply to better advantage than any other people, it will be for our interest to save them from decay and extermination. Unlike the original Indian, they are a laboring people, and they will, therefore, always continue to live amongst us, and increase and multiply, although it may be that their social position in many respects will be, as it has been, inferior and subordinate.

There are others who take much higher ground as to the future of the Republic. They affirm that we have only to give him all his political rights, and place him on precisely the same ground of political equality with other American citizens, and he will soon become competent to use those rights wisely and intelligently. The social bar which has thus far impeded his elevation will in time give way before the fact that he is endowed with all the privileges and immunities which belong to every other member of the Republic, and all distinctions of caste will gradually cease to exist.

I do not feel qualified to cast the horoscope of the African; neither do I think that any man living, with the material now on hand, is able to do it. The argument upon which I base the claims of this Society does not require that we should penetrate the secrets of the future. That the great body of this people are needed

here, and that at present no other class is competent to take their place; that they are capable of education, and have a claim upon us to give them this great boon without stint or measure; that they possess such qualities as may, with proper training, make them useful members of society; that every protection should be thrown around them which the most impartial law can provide; that full political rights should be conferred upon them, just as soon and just as far as they become capable of exercising those rights intelligently,—on these points I do not think there is room for debate.

But, supposing all this to be done, and all the benefits to accrue which might reasonably be expected, still in this land the African will always be an exotic. It is not the region for which the Almighty endowed him. He cannot thrive here as he will under his native skies. He will have difficulties to overcome peculiar to his race and condition. He will have to fight against obstructions which are not shared by the white man. No legislation, no change or improvement in public sentiment, can avert this result; and these embarrassments he will feel all the more as he rises in rank and culture. They are experienced at the North, where slavery has been long abolished, and where no distinction of color is recognized by law, just as keenly and painfully as ever; and, therefore, there will always be a class of men and women of African descent, and this of the higher order, who will desire to extricate themselves from these unpropitious circumstances, and find a home for themselves

and for their children in that land where their race are supreme, independent of protection or patronage, and where they may become the architects of their own destiny.

I have the same respect for God's image, whether it stands before me blanched or bronzed. It is *the man* whom I regard ; and intelligence and virtue make the man, not the pigment under his skin. But, if African blood ran in my veins, I would not live here, to be kicked about like a foot-ball from pillar to post, while politicians play their game ; to be insulted by the very patronage of those who assume to be my special advocates ; to be made a public spectacle of wonder if I happened to excel in any great thing, and to be charged with natural and invincible infirmity if I could not break through the iron walls which encompass me. I would go to the land of my fathers, where I could feel that my soul is my own ; where I should be called to make no apology for the impertinence of having been born ; where I could rule, instead of being ruled ; where the highest posts of honor and influence are open to me and my children ; where no white man is to say whether I shall vote or not ; and, if none would help me to go, I would live on a crust and grind my bones with labor, till I had earned enough to carry me there. And yet there are those, calling themselves the exclusive friends of the African, who are exerting all their efforts to hinder him from doing this very thing. Here let me quote the words of Edward Everett: " Suppose any one had gone



among that little company of persecuted Christians in England, in the year 1608, who afterward became the Pilgrim Church at Leyden; or suppose any one had gone in 1630 to the more important company of Gov. Winthrop, the great founder of Massachusetts; had tried to excite their feelings against the projected emigration; had told them that England belonged to them as much as it did to their oppressors; had led them to stand upon their rights, and, if necessary, bleed and die for them; had depicted the hardships and sufferings of the passage; had painted in the darkest colors the terrors of the wilderness into which they were about to venture. Would that have been true friendship? Would it have been kindness? Would it have been humanity? Or to come nearer home: suppose, at the present day, one should go into Ireland, or France, or Switzerland, or Germany, or Norway, or any of the countries from which hundreds of thousands of men, in a depressed, destitute, and unhappy condition, are emigrating to the United States to find a refuge, a home, a social position, and employment; suppose any one should go to them, and try to stimulate a morbid patriotism, a bitter nationality, telling them the country where they were born belonged as much to them as to the more favored classes; inducing them to stay where they were born; telling them that it was doubtful whether they would get employment in the new country; talking of the expense, the diseases, the hardships of the poor emigrants, and in this way endeavor to deter

them from this great adventure, which is to end in procuring a home and a position in the world and an education for themselves and their children. Would this be friendship? Would this be kindness? Would this be humanity? But these are the appeals which are made to the free colored population of this country; and it is by appeals like this that the Society and the colony have become, as I am sorry to believe is the case, highly unpopular among them."

There is a ground upon which the American Colonization Society rests its claims to sympathy and support, that is lifted above the level of all the discordant views at which I have briefly glanced, and which seems to be impregnable. One of the great continents of the earth, up to the present time, has remained, for the past, undeveloped. Until very recently, its vast interior was known upon the map only as a blank, and was supposed to be a sterile, uninhabited desert. The explorations of travellers have just revealed to us, in that unknown region, navigable rivers, a prolific soil, and a swarming population. The multitudinous tribes of Africa are not, like the inhabitants of the East, a worn-out, effete, debilitated people. The experiment of culture has not been tested with them, and it remains to be seen of what they are capable.

Is Africa never to be redeemed? Is that magnificent land never to have a history? Is she never to take rank with the empires and peoples? Is the darkness that has brooded over her from the beginning, never to

be lifted? Are her great resources never to be developed? Will her broad rivers never be traversed by the steamship, and her fertile plains never resound to the thunder of the locomotive? Is she never to have a literature? Is the light of the gospel never to shine there? God made that continent, and he did not make it for nought. This moral wilderness is destined hereafter to blossom with the noblest fruits of civilization and the sweetest flowers of religion. Splendid cities will rise there, her dark jungles will be disinfected by the increase of pure and undefiled religion, and Ethiopia stretch out her hands, not in deprecating supplication before the spirit of infernal wrath and evil, but in grateful songs and thanksgivings to a kind and merciful God.

But now the practical question arises, *How* is Africa to be redeemed? It is very evident that, *left to herself*, she will make no advance. This land is to-day in substantially the same condition that it has occupied for ages. The tendencies are all stationary. Even the Dutch who settled in the interior of Southern Africa have so far relapsed into barbarism, that they are hardly distinguishable from the Hottentots among whom they live. Without the infusion of some powerful element, strong enough to counteract the native torpor of the land, Africa will probably be the same a thousand years hence that she is to-day.

How is this controlling, counteracting element to be introduced? Some will say, by opening the continent to the commerce of the world. But there is an impor-

tant preliminary work to be done, before any extensive trade with this people can be possible. There must be exports, in order that there may be imports; and, when a people raise only what is necessary for their own subsistence, there can be nothing to send away. Thus far, traffic with this portion of the world has been confined to a few articles; and it is a melancholy fact that the first thing which ever stimulated the African to any sort of enterprise was, the discovery that he could find a market abroad for the captives whom he had taken in war. The trade which has been opened with this people has been a curse, and not a blessing. Gunpowder and rum in exchange for slaves are neither a means of civilization nor of grace.

“Throw open this continent to the influences of civilization by conquest. War is a rough and frightful process; but it has been one of the great civilizers of the world. Send fleets and armies, and break the spell of death by the thunder of artillery.”

No foreign army will ever subjugate this land. There is an invisible cordon of defence encircling it, against which powder and steel would contend in vain. The pestilence that walketh in darkness is stronger than any forces that can be gathered at noonday.

May we not, then, rely upon the labor of the Christian missionary, armed with the weapons of the gospel of peace, to subdue and regenerate this continent by the power of love, and so bring it into loving sympathy with the civilized world?

What has been the result of his self-denying labors in that benighted land? "The Roman Catholic missionaries labored in Western Africa for two hundred and fourteen years; but every vestige of their influence has been gone for many generations. The Moravians, beginning in 1736, toiled for thirty-four years, making five attempts, at a cost of eleven lives, and accomplished nothing. An English attempt, at Bulama Island, in 1792, partly missionary in its character, was abandoned in two years with the loss of a hundred lives. A mission sent to the Foulahs from England, in 1795, returned without commencing its labors. The London, Edinburgh, and Glasgow societies commenced their stations in 1797, which were extinct in three years, and five or six missionaries dead. Then there are eighteen Protestant missionary attempts, before the settlement of Liberia, all of which failed." There is now an Episcopal mission under the shadow of Liberia, that has done a good work; but it has been at a woful sacrifice of valuable lives.

The fact seems to be demonstrated, that, if Africa is ever to be redeemed, it must be through the instrumentality of the African.

The problem of slavery has always been hard to solve. What was the design of the Almighty in permitting this institution to exist? It certainly was not to benefit the land where these Africans were brought. In any respect our country would have been more prosperous, more peaceful, and more united, if not one of that race had ever set his foot upon our territory.

But if Africa is to be lifted out of barbarism through the agency of the African, and if he could not be reached by the hand of civilization on his native soil; if there were no natural tendencies towards a higher development in the race itself, and if they were inaccessible to any direct influence from without; if neither commerce, or conquests, or peaceful instruction could be brought to bear upon them at home, — we may begin to see why it was permitted that they should be taken from their own country, and placed under such circumstances as would bring them in contact with civilization and Christianity, even though this was to be done in a way which shocks our sense of justice, and was far from favorable to their own highest culture.

The only conceivable process by which the great continent of Africa can ever be civilized and Christianized is, through the system of colonization, and transplanting to her shores all the institutions of civilization and Christianity, under the auspices and supreme control, not of the white man, but of the children of the soil. Every well-conducted and prosperous colony will gradually become a power, before which the ancient structures of idolatry and superstition and barbarism must sooner or later fall. The material for this work has been provided in a rough and strange manner, which is, however, not without striking precedents in history. It was a nation of liberated slaves that colonized and possessed the “promised land.”

The opponents of colonization have sometimes asked,



with a sneer, if we consider the plantation negro a competent and fit representative of American culture, qualified to act as a Christian missionary, and to introduce the arts of civilization, science, education, commerce, manufactures, and agriculture into Africa. If it had been the policy of this Society to send out cargo after cargo of the lowest and most degraded class of Africans to be found in the land, there might be some good foundation for this contemptuous question; but it has not been so. Not a few who have emigrated to Liberia have been men of more than ordinary culture; and the great body of colonists have been sufficiently well trained in mechanical and agricultural pursuits to qualify them for the position of useful and productive members of society. It is not the lowest order who are likely to seek a refuge in Liberia. They have the same local attachments which the domestic animal has for its home. They love the quiet nooks and the warm shelter and the abundant food which they find there. They do not care to tempt the perils of an ocean voyage, and to encounter the hardships of a new settlement. They do not care for Africa because it was the home of their ancestors. They do not care for Africa because they may assert their manhood there, and lay the foundation of great things for themselves and their children. They are troubled with no such lofty sentiments as these; and therefore they would rather grind cane in Louisiana, and gather cotton in Carolina, than become the founders of a great nation on the other side of the sea.



But, after all, the great question to be considered on such an occasion as the present is this: What have been the actual results of African colonization? Has Liberia, upon the whole, proved to be a success, or failure? Forty-six years ago, the first band of emigrants landed and established themselves on Cape Mesurado. Nineteen and a half years ago, Liberia ceased to be a colony, and became an independent republic. Have the labors, and the sacrifices, and the means which have been expended upon this enterprise, resulted favorably or not?

The work of colonizing one region of the earth from another and a distant quarter has always been slow and difficult, and liable to peculiar and serious embarrassments.

Seventeen years after the first colony was planted at Jamestown, Va., it appears that about one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling had been expended; more than nine thousand persons had been sent from Europe to people it; and yet the population was reduced to eighteen hundred. Seventy-eight years after the settlement of Connecticut, the population amounted to only seventeen thousand. The Maine colony, after the lapse of one hundred and twenty years, numbered ten thousand. Of the original members of the Massachusetts Bay Company, quite a large number soon returned to England, wearied and discouraged.

The Republic of Liberia numbers to-day among its civilized inhabitants about thirty thousand persons,

about fifteen thousand of which are American Liberians ; that is, those who have emigrated from the United States with their descendants. More than three hundred thousand aborigines reside within the territory of Liberia, and are brought more or less directly under the influence and control of her civilized institutions. There are nearly fifty churches in the Republic, representing five different denominations, with their Sunday schools and Bible classes, and contributing something every week for missionary purposes. The exports last year amounted to about three hundred thousand dollars.

The undeveloped capacities for trade, no one can estimate. With a most prolific soil, and a climate capable of producing almost every variety of tropical fruit, the resources of the land are beyond computation. A sea-coast line six hundred miles in length, and an interior stretching indefinitely into the heart of the country, offer the most splendid facilities for foreign commerce.

For a thousand miles along the coast, and two hundred miles inland, the influence of the government has been brought to bear upon domestic slavery among the natives, and upon the extirpation of the slave-trade, until both have ceased to exist.

A well-ordered and well-governed community has been established on the coast of Africa, with its courts of justice intelligently presided over ; with its legislative assemblies wisely constructed and equitably conducted ; with its schools and college furnishing a sound and thorough education, and with its Christian churches

teaching the people the practical duties which pertain to the present life, and also revealing to them the way of salvation through Jesus Christ.

Has the work of African colonization proved to be a failure? Are these results nothing? All may not have been accomplished that was anticipated by some of the more sanguine friends of the enterprise. The Society has been called to contend with difficulties which could not have been foreseen in the beginning; it has encountered opposition in quarters where it least expected; vigorous efforts have been made to prejudice the colored people against us; but still there stands the Republic of Liberia to-day, free, independent, and prosperous. All nations recognize and salute her flag. She needs no governmental protection from any other land. All that she asks of us is this,—send us people, industrious, moral, intelligent. If they have not the means themselves, aid them to establish themselves on these shores. We will give them land, if for a few months you will only assist them in their preparation to become self-supporting citizens. And this is the simple work which the American Colonization Society proposes to do.

A strange thing occurred in the history of the world on the last twenty-sixth of July. It was the nineteenth anniversary of the independence of Liberia; and on the heights of Lebanon in Syria, at the house of the United-States consul, the Rev. Mr. Blyden, Fulton Professor in Liberia College, was requested to deliver an address appropriate to the day. I do not think that I

can do better than to give you a few words taken from his speech : "Most wonderful," he says, "have been the changes, which, within a few years, the moral and religious aspects of that portion of Africa have undergone. Where, a few years ago, stood virgin forests or impenetrable jungles, we now behold churches erected to the living God ; we hear the sound of the church-going bell, and regular Sabbath ministrations are enjoyed. If you could see Liberia as she now is, with her six hundred miles of coast snatched from the abominations of the slave-trade, her thriving towns and villages, her spacious streets and fine houses, her happy homes with their varied delights, her churches with their Sabbath schools and their solemn and delightful services ; could you contemplate all the diversified means of improvement and enjoyment, and indications on every hand of ease and happiness, and plodding industry of her population, without those feverish and distracting pursuits and rivalries which make large cities so unpleasant ; could you behold these things, and contrast the state of things now with what it was forty years ago, when the eighty-eight negro pilgrims first landed on these shores, where the primeval forests stood around them with their awful, unbroken solitudes ; could you listen, as they listened, to the rush of the wind through those forests, to the roar of wild beasts, and the savage music of treacherous foes all around them ; were you, I say, in a position to make this contrast, you would exclaim, 'What hath God wrought !' You would acknowledge that the

spirit of Christianity and civilization has moved upon the face of these turbid waters, and that beauty and order have emerged out of materials rude and unpromising; you would recognize on that coast a germ of moral renovation, which shall at length burst into glorious efflorescence all over the land: the wilderness and the desert shall bloom and blossom as the rose."

What is to be the history of African Colonization during the next fifty years? No one believes it possible that this new nationality is destined to die out; that this people are doomed to show that they are incapable of self-government, and incompetent to hold a place among the kingdoms of the earth. So far from this, I believe that they are destined to draw around them a class of colored men, endowed with a constantly-increasing intelligence, and a more and more advanced manliness. With the broader and higher education which this class are now receiving amongst us, it may be anticipated that, from time to time, large numbers will say, "Let us go back to our own land, and show the world what Africans can do in Africa; let us do for that continent what the Anglo-Saxon has done for America; let us plant the same institutions there which have made these United States such a power in the earth — only, instead of exterminating the aboriginal inhabitants, as has been done here, let us try to civilize and Christianize the millions that now grovel in barbarism there."

I was very much impressed with a thought that was suggested in an address on the future of the African

race, which I heard some years since from the lips of the Rev. Professor Crummell, of Liberia. It was substantially as follows: If the Hindoos or the Chinamen, or the common order of people in any of the European States, were to undertake the experiment of self-government, they would labor under a great disadvantage, from the fact that they are familiar with no form of free institutions which would serve as a model and guide in framing and regulating a representative government; whereas the settlers of Liberia, although many of them were born and trained in slavery, could not help becoming, in a degree, familiar with our religious and political habits and principles. They are, therefore, better qualified to establish and conduct a republic of their own, than any other people in a corresponding position.

There is at this moment among the colored population of the United States, such a *spontaneous* tendency towards emigration as has never been known before; and, when they find that they are no longer an important faction in the political struggles of the country, they will see still more clearly than they now do, that it is for their own comfort and interest, as well as for the good of Africa, to make that land their permanent abode. They have, indeed, the same right to dwell here that any of us have; they have a claim to the same just and equitable treatment; and we are bound to see that the freedom which has been suddenly given them shall prove to be a blessing, and not a curse. But certain races seem to have been intended for certain re-



gions; and as the palm-tree could never flourish in our cold valleys, so the African can never develop his best energies, and find his highest level, in any foreign land. And this will always be to him, in some respects, an alien country. He can never forget the wrongs that have been done to him and his ancestors here; and there is nothing in his reminiscences of the past to make him proud of his American citizenship. We may want to keep him here to do the drudgery that we shrink from ourselves; we may be willing to give him the right of suffrage, that we may use it for our own political advantage; but he must either sink his own individuality, or retain it at a cost, which, in the end, will make him suffer.

Why, then, not go to a republic that he can call his own? There are great fortunes to be made in that land, whenever the same industry and skill shall be brought into action there which have made men rich here. There are posts of honor and influence open to him in that land, lofty enough to satisfy one's proudest ambition. There is a magnificent work to be done for a magnificent continent, which he alone is competent to do. A greater field for enterprise, a greater field for the spread of the gospel of Christ and the establishment of a noble civilization, was never opened to man.

It may demand some sacrifice at first; there may be ties which it is hard to sunder, trials to be endured which it will demand a vigorous will to face; but no great work is accomplished without suffering. White men, bred in luxury and affluence, accomplished women,



moved by the love of Christ, have gone to that distant land to carry the unsearchable treasures of a pure and holy faith to a people perishing in darkness ; and they went forth to encounter perils which the black man has comparatively little cause to fear.

It is not impossible that, in process of time, the work of the Colonization Society may cease any longer to be needed. The citizens of Liberia, in their prosperity, may themselves provide the means for the removal to that land of all who wish to go there, and are unable to pay the cost, as thousands from Great Britain and Europe are brought to our country every year by the voluntary offerings of those who have preceded them.

But, meanwhile, there is likely to be a great demand upon the resources of this Society. If the multitudes of that unhappy and ill-treated people, who are, at this moment, floating about, dependent upon public charity for their support, and over whose future such an imperious and gloomy cloud is suspended, could all be gathered up, and removed to a pleasant home, a section of land be there secured to them, and the implements placed in their hands, with which, by ordinary labor, they would be able to earn for themselves a comfortable livelihood, would not this be an act of real Christian charity ?

We owe an enormous debt to the African : how can we best discharge that debt ? Our brothers' blood cries to us from the ground. God hears that cry, and holds us accountable. As we would avert further calamity from our own land, as we would protect ourselves from

the slow but certain dispensations of justice, let us, as far as we can, redeem and expiate the wrong we have done the African. We have all eaten the fruit of his unrecompensed labor. Let us now give him back some portion of that which we have taken from him. Let your wealth flow by thousands and tens of thousands into the treasury of this National Society. It will be well used, and bring forth abundant fruit.

APPENDIX.



# A P P E N D I X.

---

## DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

WE, the representatives of the people of the Commonwealth of Liberia, in Convention assembled, invested with authority for forming a new government, relying upon the aid and protection of the Great Arbiter of human events, do hereby, in the name and on behalf of the people of this Commonwealth, publish and declare the said Commonwealth a FREE, SOVEREIGN, AND INDEPENDENT STATE, by the name and title of the REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA.

While announcing to the nations of the world the new position which the people of this Republic have felt themselves called upon to assume, courtesy to their opinion seems to demand a brief accompanying statement of the causes which induced them, first to expatriate themselves from the land of their nativity and to form settlements on this barbarous coast, and now to organize their government by the assumption of a sovereign and independent character. Therefore we respectfully ask their attention to the following facts:—

We recognize in all men certain natural and inalienable rights; among these are life, liberty, and the right to acquire, possess, enjoy, and defend property. By the practice and consent of men in all ages, some system or form of government is proven to be necessary to exercise, enjoy, and secure these rights; and every people has a right to institute a government, and to choose and adopt that system or form of it, which, in their opinion, will most effectually accomplish these objects, and secure their happiness, which does not interfere with the just rights of others. The

right, therefore, to institute government, and to all the powers necessary to conduct it, is an inalienable right, and cannot be resisted without the grossest injustice.

We, the people of the Republic of Liberia, were originally the inhabitants of the United States of North America.

In some parts of that country, we were debarred by law, from all the rights and privileges of men; in other parts, public sentiment, more powerful than law, frowned us down.

We were everywhere shut out from all civil office.

We were excluded from all participation in the government.

We were taxed without our consent.

We were compelled to contribute to the resources of a country which gave us no protection.

We were made a separate and distinct class, and against us every avenue to improvement was effectually closed. Strangers from all lands, of a color different from ours, were preferred before us.

We uttered our complaints; but they were unattended to, or only met by alleging the peculiar institutions of the country.

All hope of a favorable change in our country was thus wholly extinguished in our bosoms, and we looked with anxiety abroad for some asylum from the deep degradation.

The western coast of Africa was the place selected by American benevolence and philanthropy for our future home. Removed beyond those influences which depressed us in our native land, it was hoped we would be enabled to enjoy those rights and privileges, and exercise and improve those faculties, which the God of nature has given us in common with the rest of mankind.

Under the auspices of the American Colonization Society, we established ourselves here, on land acquired by purchase from the lords of the soil.

In an original compact with this Society, we, for important reasons, delegated to it certain political powers; while this institution stipulated, that whenever the people should become capable of conducting the government, or whenever the people should desire it,

this institution would resign the delegated power, peaceably withdraw its supervision, and leave the people to the government of themselves.

Under the auspices and guidance of this institution, which has nobly and in perfect faith redeemed its pledges to the people, we have grown and prospered.

From time to time, our number has been increased by emigration from America, and by accession from native tribes; and from time to time, as circumstances required it, we have extended our borders by acquisition of land by honorable purchase from the natives of the country.

As our territory has extended, and our population increased, our commerce has also increased. The flags of most of the civilized nations of the earth float in our harbors, and their merchants are opening an honorable and profitable trade. Until recently, these visits have been of a uniformly harmonious character; but as they have become more frequent, and to more numerous points of our extending coast, questions have arisen, which, it is supposed, can be adjusted only by agreement between sovereign powers.

For years past, the American Colonization Society has virtually withdrawn from all direct and active part in the administration of the government, except in the appointment of the governor, who is also a colonist, for the apparent purpose of testing the ability of the people to conduct the affairs of government; and no complaint of crude legislation, nor of mismanagement, nor of mal-administration, has yet been heard.

In view of these facts, this institution, the American Colonization Society, with that good faith which has uniformly marked all its dealings with us, did, by a set of resolutions in January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-six, dissolve all political connection with the people of this Republic, return the power with which it was delegated, and left the people to the government of themselves.

The people of the Republic of Liberia, then, are of right, and in



fact, a free, sovereign, and independent State, possessed of all the rights, powers, and functions of government.

In assuming the momentous responsibilities of the position they have taken, the people of this Republic feel justified by the necessities of the case; and, with this conviction, they throw themselves with confidence upon the candid consideration of the civilized world.

Liberia is not the offspring of grasping ambition, nor the tool of avaricious speculation.

No desire for territorial aggrandizement brought us to these shores; nor do we believe so sordid a motive entered into the high considerations of those who aided us in providing this asylum.

Liberia is an asylum from the most grinding oppression.

In coming to the shores of Africa, we indulged the pleasing hope that we would be permitted to exercise and improve those faculties which impart to man his dignity, to nourish in our hearts the flame of honorable ambition, to cherish and indulge those aspirations which a beneficent Creator had implanted in every human heart, and to evince to all who despise, ridicule, and oppress our race, that we possess with them a common nature, are with them susceptible of equal refinement, and capable of equal advancement in all that adorns and dignifies man.

We were animated with the hope that here we should be at liberty to train up our children in the way they should go, to inspire them with the love of an honorable fame, to kindle within them the flame of a lofty philanthropy, and to form strong within them the principles of humanity, virtue, and religion.

Among the strongest motives to leave our native land, to abandon forever the scenes of our childhood, and to sever the most endeared connections, was the desire for a retreat, where, free from the agitations of fear and molestation, we could, in composure and security, approach in worship the God of our fathers.

Thus far our highest hopes have been realized.

Liberia is already the happy home of thousands who were once

the doomed victims of oppression ; and if left unmolested to go on with her natural and spontaneous growth, if her movements be left free from the paralyzing intrigues of jealous ambition and unscrupulous avarice, she will throw open a wider and yet a wider door for thousands who are now looking with an anxious eye for some land of rest.

Our courts of justice are open equally to the stranger and the citizen for the redress of grievances, for the remedy of injuries, and for the punishment of crime.

Our numerous and well-attended schools attest our efforts and our desire for the improvement of our children.

Our churches for the worship of our Creator, everywhere to be seen, bear testimony to our piety and to our acknowledgment of his providence.

The native African, bowing down with us before the altar of the living God, declare that from us, feeble as we are, the light of Christianity has gone forth ; while upon that curse of curses, the slave-trade, a deadly blight has fallen as far as our influence extends.

Therefore, in the name of humanity and virtue and religion, in the name of the Great God, our common Creator and our common Judge, we appeal to the nations of Christendom, and earnestly and respectfully ask of them that they will regard us with the sympathy and friendly considerations to which the peculiarities of our condition entitle us, and to extend to us that comity which marks the friendly intercourse of civilized and independent communities.

## CONSTITUTION.

### ARTICLE I.

#### *Declaration of Rights.*

The end of the institution, maintenance, and administration of government, is to secure the existence of the body politic, to protect it, and to furnish the individuals who compose it with the

power of enjoying in safety and tranquillity their natural rights, and the blessings of life ; and, whenever these great objects are not obtained, the people have a right to alter the government, and to take measures necessary for their safety, prosperity, and happiness.

Therefore we, the people of the Commonwealth of Liberia, in Africa, acknowledging with devout gratitude the goodness of God in granting to us the blessings of the Christian religion, and political, religious, and civil liberty, do, in order to secure these blessings for ourselves and our posterity, and to establish justice, insure domestic peace, and promote the general welfare, hereby solemnly associate and constitute ourselves a free, sovereign, and independent State, by the name of the Republic of Liberia ; and do ordain and establish this constitution for the government of the same.

SECTION 1. All men are born equally free and independent, and have certain natural inherent and inalienable rights, — among which are the rights of enjoying and defending life and liberty, of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property, and of pursuing and obtaining safety and happiness.

SECT. 2. All power is inherent in the people : all free governments are instituted by their authority and for their benefit, and they have a right to alter and reform the same when their safety and happiness require it.

SECT. 3. All men have a natural and inalienable right to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences, without obstruction or molestation from others. All persons demeaning themselves peaceably, and not obstructing others in their religious worship, are entitled to the protection of law in the free exercise of their own religion ; and no sect of Christians shall have exclusive privileges or preference over any other sect, but all shall be alike tolerated ; and no religious test whatever shall be required as a qualification for civil office, or the exercise of any civil right.

SECT. 4. There shall be no slavery within this Republic ; nor shall any citizen of this Republic, or any person resident therein, deal in slaves, either within or without this Republic, directly or indirectly.

SECT. 5. The people have a right at all times, in an orderly and peaceable manner, to assemble and consult upon the common good, to instruct their representatives, and to petition the government or any public functionaries for the redress of grievances.

SECT. 6. Every person injured shall have remedy therefor by due course of law. Justice shall be done without denial or delay; and in all cases not arising under martial law or upon impeachment, the parties shall have a right to a trial by jury, and to be heard in person or by counsel, or both.

SECT. 7. No person shall be held to answer for a capital or infamous crime, except in cases of impeachment, cases arising in the army and navy, and petty offences, unless upon presentment by a grand jury; and every person criminally charged shall have a right to be seasonably furnished with a copy of the charge, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have a speedy, public, and impartial trial by a jury of the vicinity. He shall not be compelled to furnish or give evidence against himself; and no person shall, for the same offence, be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb.

SECT. 8. No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, property, or privilege, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land.

SECT. 9. No place shall be searched nor person seized on a criminal charge or suspicion, unless upon warrant lawfully issued, upon probable cause supported by oath or solemn affirmation, specially designating the place or person, and the object of the search.

SECT. 10. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor excessive punishments inflicted; nor shall the legislature make any law impairing the obligation of contracts, nor any law rendering any act punishable in any manner in which it was not punishable when it was committed.

SECT. 11. All elections shall be by ballot; and every male citizen of twenty-one years of age, possessing real estate, shall have the right of suffrage.

SECT. 12. The people have a right to keep and to bear arms for the common defence. And as, in time of peace, armies are dangerous to liberty, they ought not to be maintained without the consent of the legislature; and the military power shall always be held in exact subordination to the civil authority, and be governed by it.

SECT. 13. Private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation.

SECT. 14. The powers of this government shall be divided into three distinct departments, the legislative, executive, and judicial; and no person belonging to one of these departments shall exercise any of the powers belonging to either of the others. This section is not to be construed to include Justices of the Peace.

SECT. 15. The liberty of the press is essential to the security of freedom in a State: it ought not, therefore, to be restrained in this Republic.

The press shall be free to every person who undertakes to examine the proceedings of the legislature or any branch of government; and no law shall ever be made to restrain the rights thereof. The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of man; and every citizen may freely speak, write, and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

In prosecutions for the publication of papers investigating the official conduct of officers, or men in a public capacity, or where the matter published is proper for public information, the truth thereof may be given in evidence. And in all indictments for libels, the jury shall have a right to determine the law and the facts under the direction of the court, as in other cases.

SECT. 16. No subsidy, charge, impost, or duties ought to be established, fixed, laid, or levied, under any pretext whatsoever, without the consent of the people, or their representatives in the legislature.

SECT. 17. Suits may be brought against the Republic in such manner and in such cases as the legislature may by law direct.

SECT. 18. No person can, in any case, be subjected to the law martial, or to any penalties or pains by virtue of that law (except those employed in the army or navy, and except the militia in actual service), but by the authority of the legislature.

SECT. 19. In order to prevent those who are vested with authority from becoming oppressors, the people have a right, at such periods and in such manner as they shall establish by their frame of government, to cause their public officers to return to private life, and fill up vacant places by certain and regular elections and appointments.

SECT. 20. That all prisoners shall be bailable by sufficient sureties, unless for capital offences when the proof is evident or presumption great; and the privilege and the benefit of the writ of habeas corpus shall be enjoyed in this Republic, in the most free, easy, cheap, expeditious, and ample manner, and shall not be suspended by the legislature, except upon the most urgent and pressing occasions, and for a limited time, not exceeding twelve months.

## ARTICLE II.

### *Legislative Powers.*

SECTION 1. The legislative power shall be vested in a Legislature of Liberia, and consist of two separate branches,—a House of Representatives and a Senate,—to be styled the Legislature of Liberia, each of which shall have a negative on the other; and the enacting style of their acts and laws shall be, “It is enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Republic of Liberia in Legislature assembled.”

SECT. 2. The representatives shall be elected by and for the inhabitants of the several counties of Liberia, and shall be apportioned among the several counties of Liberia as follows: The County of Montserado shall have four representatives, the County of Grand Bassa shall have three, and the County of Sinoc shall have one; and all counties hereafter which shall be admitted in the



Republic shall have one representative, and for every ten thousand inhabitants one representative shall be added. No person shall be a representative who has not resided in the county two whole years immediately previous to his election, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of the county, and does not own real estate of not less value than one hundred and fifty dollars in the county in which he resides, and who shall not have attained the age of twenty-three years. The representatives shall be elected biennially, and shall serve two years from the time of their election.

SECT. 3. When a vacancy occurs in the representation of any county by death, resignation, or otherwise, it shall be filled by a new election.

SECT. 4. The House of Representatives shall elect their own speaker and other officers. They shall also have the sole power of impeachment.

SECT. 5. The Senate shall consist of two members from Montserado County, two from Bassa County, two from Sinoe County, and two from each county which may be hereafter incorporated into this Republic. No person shall be a senator who shall not have resided three whole years immediately previous to his election in the Republic of Liberia, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of the county which he represents, and who does not own real estate of not less value than two hundred dollars in the county which he represents, and who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years. The senator for each county who shall have the highest number of votes shall retain his seat for four years; and the one who shall have the next highest number of votes, two years; and all who are afterwards elected to fill their seats shall remain in office four years.

SECT. 6. The Senate shall try all impeachments, the senators being first sworn or solemnly affirmed to try the same impartially, and according to law; and no person shall be convicted but by the concurrence of two-thirds of the senators present. Judgment in



such cases shall not extend beyond removal from office, and disqualification to hold an office in the Republic; but the party may still be tried at law for the same offence.

When either the President or Vice-President is to be tried, the Chief Justice shall preside.

SECT. 7. It shall be the duty of the Legislature, as soon as conveniently may be after the adoption of this constitution, and once at least in every ten years afterwards, to cause a true census to be taken of each town and county of the Republic of Liberia; and a representative shall be allowed every town having a population of ten thousand inhabitants; and, for every additional ten thousand in the counties after the first census, one representative shall be added to that county, until the number of representatives shall amount to thirty. Afterwards, one representative shall be added for every thirty thousand.

SECT. 8. Each branch of the legislature shall be judge of the election returns and qualifications of its own members. A majority of each shall be necessary to transact business; but a less number may adjourn from day to day, and compel the attendance of absent members. Each house may adopt its own rules of proceeding, enforce order, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, may expel a member.

SECT. 9. Neither house shall adjourn for more than two days without the consent of the other; and both houses shall sit in the same town.

SECT. 10. Every bill or resolution which shall have passed both branches of the Legislature, shall, before it becomes a law, be laid before the President for his approval. If he approves, he shall sign it; if not, he shall return it to the Legislature with his objections: if the Legislature shall afterwards pass the bill or resolution by a vote of two-thirds in each branch, it shall become a law. If the President shall neglect to return such bill or resolution to the Legislature, with his objection, for five days after the same shall have been so laid before him, — the Legislature remaining in session

during that time, such neglect shall be equivalent to his signature.

SECT. 11. The Senators and Representatives shall receive from the Republic a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law; and shall be privileged from arrest except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace, while attending at, going to, or returning from, the session of the Legislature.

#### ARTICLE III.

##### *Executive Power.*

SECTION 1. The Supreme Executive power shall be vested in a President, who shall be elected by the people, and shall hold his office for the term of two years. He shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy. He shall, in the recess of the legislature, have power to call out the militia, or any portion thereof, into actual service in defence of the Republic. He shall have power to make treaties, provided the Senate concur therein by a vote of two-thirds of the senators present. He shall nominate, and, with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint and commission, all ambassadors and other public ministers and consuls, secretaries of state, of war, of the navy, and of the treasury, attorney-general, all judges of courts, sheriffs, coroners, marshals, justices of the peace, clerks of courts, registers, notaries public, and all other officers of State, civil and military, whose appointment may not be otherwise provided for by the constitution, or by standing laws. And, in the recess of the Senate, he may fill any vacancy in those offices, until the next session of the Senate. He shall receive all ambassadors and other public ministers. He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed; he shall inform the Legislature, from time to time, of the condition of the Republic, and recommend any public measures for their adoption which he may think expedient. He may, after conviction, remit any public forfeitures and penalties, and grant reprieves and pardons for public offences,

except in cases of impeachment. He may require information and advice from any public officer, touching matters pertaining to his office. He may, on extraordinary occasions, convene the Legislature, and may adjourn the two houses whenever they cannot agree as to the time of adjournment.

SECT. 2. There shall be a Vice-President, who shall be elected in the same manner and for the same term as that of the President, and whose qualifications shall be the same. He shall be President of the Senate, and give the casting vote when the house is equally divided on any subject. And in case of the removal of the President from office, or his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President; and the Legislature may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President; and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

SECT. 3. The Secretary of State shall keep the records of the State, and all the records and papers of the legislative body, and all other public records and documents not belonging to any other department, and shall lay the same, when required, before the President or Legislature. He shall attend upon them when required, and perform such other duties as may be enjoined by law.

SECT. 4. The Secretary of the Treasury, or other persons who may by law be charged with the custody of the public moneys, shall, before he receive such moneys, give bonds to the State, with sufficient sureties to the acceptance of the Legislature, for the faithful discharge of his trust. He shall exhibit a true account of such moneys when required by the President or Legislature; and no moneys shall be drawn from the treasury but by warrant from the President, in consequence of appropriation made by law.

SECT. 5. All ambassadors and other public ministers and consuls, the Secretary of State, of War, of the Treasury, and of the Navy, the Attorney-general, and Postmaster-general, shall hold their

offices during the pleasure of the President. All justices of the peace, sheriffs, marshals, clerks of courts, registers, and notaries public, shall hold their office for the term of two years from the date of their respective commissions, but may be removed from office within that time by the President, at his pleasure; and all other officers whose term of office may not be otherwise limited by law, shall hold their office during the pleasure of the President.

SECT. 6. Every civil officer may be removed from office, by impeachment, for official misconduct. Every such officer may also be removed by the President, upon the address of both branches of the Legislature, stating the particular reasons for his removal.

SECT. 7. No person shall be eligible to the office of President who has not been a citizen of this Republic for at least five years, and shall not have attained the age of thirty-five years; and who shall not be possessed of unincumbered real estate, of not less value than six hundred dollars.

SECT. 8. The President shall at stated times receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected. And, before he enters on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—

I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of the President of the Republic of Liberia, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the constitution, and enforce the laws, of the Republic of Liberia.

#### ARTICLE IV.

##### *Judicial Department.*

SECTION 1. The judicial power of this Republic shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and such subordinate courts as the Legislature may from time to time establish. The judges of the Supreme Court, and all other judges of courts, shall hold their office during good behavior, but may be removed by the President on

the address of two-thirds of both houses for that purpose, or by impeachment and conviction thereon. The judges shall have salaries established by law, which may be increased, but not diminished, during their continuance in office. They shall not receive any other perquisite or emoluments whatever, from parties or others on account of any duty required of them.

SECT. 2. The Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction in all cases affecting ambassadors or other public ministers and consuls, and those to which the Republic shall be a party. In all other cases, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the legislature shall from time to time make.

#### ARTICLE V.

##### *Miscellaneous Provisions.*

SECTION 1. All laws now in force in the Commonwealth of Liberia, and not repugnant to this constitution, shall be in force as the laws of the Republic of Liberia, until they shall be repealed by the Legislature.

SECT. 2. All judges, magistrates, and other officers now concerned in the administration of justice in the Commonwealth of Liberia, and all other existing civil and military officers therein, shall continue to hold and discharge their respective offices in the name and by the authority of the Republic, until others shall be appointed and commissioned in their stead pursuant to this Constitution.

SECT. 3. All towns and municipal corporations within this Republic, constituted under the laws of the Commonwealth of Liberia, shall retain their existing organizations and privileges; and the respective officers thereof shall remain in office, and act under the authority of this Republic, in the same manner and with the like powers as they now possess under the laws of said Commonwealth.

SECT. 4. The first election of President, Vice-President, Senators and Representatives, shall be held on the first Tuesday in October in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and forty-seven, in the same manner as elections of members of the council are chosen in the Commonwealth of Liberia; and the votes shall be certified and returned to the Colonial Secretary; and the result of the election shall be ascertained, posted, and notified by him as it is now by law provided in case of such members of council.

SECT. 5. All other elections of President, Vice-President, Senators and Representatives, shall be held in the respective towns on the first Tuesday in May, in every two years, to be held and regulated in such manner as the Legislature may by law prescribe. The returns of votes shall be made to the Secretary of State, who shall open the same, and forthwith issue notice of the election to the persons apparently so elected Senators and Representatives; and all such returns shall be by him laid before the Legislature at its next ensuing session, together with a list of the names of the persons who appear by such returns to have been duly elected Senators and Representatives; and the persons appearing by said returns to be duly elected shall proceed to organize themselves accordingly as the Senate and House of Representatives. The votes for President shall be sorted, counted, and declared by the House of Representatives; and, if no person shall appear to have a majority of such votes, the Senators and Representatives present shall in convention, by joint ballot, elect from among the persons having the three highest numbers of votes a person to act as President for the ensuing term.

SECT. 6. The Legislature shall assemble once at least in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in January, unless a different day shall be appointed by law.

SECT. 7. Every legislator and other officer appointed under this constitution, shall, before he enters upon the duties of his office, take and subscribe a solemn oath or affirmation to support the Constitution of this Republic, and faithfully and impartially discharge



the duties of such office. The presiding officer of the Senate shall administer such oath or affirmation to the President, in convention of both houses; and the President shall administer the same to the Vice-President, to the Senators and to the Representatives in like manner. If the President is unable to attend, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court may administer the oath or affirmation to him at any place, and also to the Vice-President, Senators and Representatives in convention. Other officers may take such oath or affirmation before the President, Chief Justice, or any other person who may be designated by law.

SECT. 8. All elections of public officers shall be made by a majority of the votes, except in cases otherwise regulated by the constitution or by law.

SECT. 9. Officers created by this constitution which the circumstances of the Republic do not require that they shall be filled, shall not be filled until the Legislature shall deem it necessary.

SECT. 10. The property of which a woman may be possessed at the time of her marriage, and also that of which she may afterwards become possessed, otherwise than by her husband, shall not be held responsible for his debts, whether contracted before or after marriage.

Nor shall the property thus intended to be secured to the woman be alienated otherwise than by her free and voluntary consent; and such alienation may be made by her either by sale, devise, or otherwise.

SECT. 11. In all cases in which estates are insolvent, the widow shall be entitled to one-third of the real estate during her natural life, and to one-third of the personal estate, which she shall hold in her own right, subject to alienation by her by devise or otherwise.

SECT. 12. No person shall be entitled to hold real estate in this Republic unless he be a citizen of the same. Nevertheless, this article shall not be construed to apply to colonization, missionary, educational, or other benevolent institutions, so long as the property or estate is applied to its legitimate purposes.



SECT. 13. The great object of forming these colonies being to provide a home for the dispersed and oppressed children of Africa, and to regenerate and enlighten this benighted continent, none but persons of color shall be admitted to citizenship in this Republic.

SECT. 14. The purchase of any land by any citizen or citizens from the aborigines of this country, for his or their own use, or for the benefit of others, as estate or estates in fee simple, shall be considered null and void to all intents and purposes.

SECT. 15. The improvement of the native tribes and their advancement in the arts of agriculture and husbandry being a cherished object of this government, it shall be the duty of the President to appoint in each county some discreet person, whose duty it shall be to make regular and periodical tours through the country, for the purpose of calling the attention of the natives to these wholesome branches of industry, and of instructing them in the same; and the legislature shall, as soon as can conveniently be done, make provision for these purposes by the appropriation of money.

SECT. 16. The existing regulations of the American Colonization Society, in the Commonwealth, relative to emigrants, shall remain the same in the Republic, until regulated by compact between the Society and the Republic: nevertheless, the Legislature shall make no law prohibiting emigration; and it shall be among the first duties of the legislature to take measures to arrange the future relations between the American Colonization Society and this Republic.

SECT. 17. This Constitution may be altered whenever two-thirds of both branches of the legislature shall deem it necessary; in which case the alterations or amendments shall first be considered and approved by the legislature, by the concurrence of two-thirds of the members of each branch, and afterwards by them submitted to the people, and adopted by two-thirds of all the electors at the next biennial meeting for the election of senators and representatives.

Done in Convention at Monrovia, in the County of Montserado, by the unanimous consent of the people of the Commonwealth of Liberia, this twenty-sixth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-seven, and of the Republic the first.

In witness whereof we have hereto set our names.

S. BENEDICT, <i>President,</i>	}	Montserado County.
J. N. LEWIS,		
H. TEAGE,		
BEVERLY R. WILSON,		
ELIJAH JOHNSON,		
J. B. GRIPON,	}	Grand Bassa County.
JOHN DAY,		
A. W. GARDNER,		
AMOS HERRING,		
EPHRAIM TILLER,		
R. E. MURRAY, County of Sinoe.		

J. W. PROUT, *Secretary of Convention.*

---

MONROVIA, July 29, 1847.

FELLOW-CITIZENS, — Having finished our labors, we now have the honor of submitting to your consideration, through the Governor, that Constitution which, in our opinion, will best suit the peculiar circumstances of the people of this infant Republic. That our labors will meet the full approbation of every individual citizen is scarcely to be expected. We trust, however, that a large majority of our fellow-citizens will approve our doings, and adopt the constitution herewith submitted.

In our deliberations, we endeavored to keep our minds steadily fixed upon the great objects of civil government, and have done what we conceived to be best for the general interest of this rising Republic. We endeavored carefully to arrange every subject that might possibly arise, calculated to disturb in the least the friendly

feeling which now so happily subsists between the different counties of this Republic. We felt deeply the importance and magnitude of the work submitted to our hands, and have done the very best we could in order to afford general satisfaction.

In view of the peculiarity of our circumstances, the new position we have assumed is indeed a gigantic one; and the government now calls to its support every citizen who is at all concerned for the safety and future prosperity of this our only home.

Knowing, however, that our cause is just, we feel encouraged, and believe that under God, by a speedy perseverance, we shall fully succeed.

In publishing to the world our *Independence*, we have thought proper to accompany that document with a declaration of the causes which induced us to leave the land of our nativity, and to form settlements on this coast; and also an appeal to the sympathies of all civilized nations, soliciting their aid and protection, and especially that they would, notwithstanding our peculiar circumstances, speedily recognize our *Independence*.

And that the flag of this Republic at no distant day may be seen floating upon every breeze, and in every land respected.

It is our earnest desire that the affairs of this government may be so conducted as to merit the approbation of all Christendom, and restore to Africa her long-lost glory; and that Liberia, under the guidance of Heaven, may continue a happy asylum for our long-oppressed race, and a blessing to the benighted and degraded natives of this vast peninsula: to secure which is our ardent wish and prayer.

With great respect, we have the honor of being

Your obedient and humble servants.

By the unanimous order of the convention,

SAMUEL BENEDICT,

*President.*

## FLAG AND SEAL OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA.

THE following flag and seal were adopted by the Convention as the insignia of the Republic of Liberia, and ordered to be employed to mark its nationality:—

*Flag.* — Six red stripes with five white stripes, alternately displayed longitudinally. In the upper angle of the flag, next to the spear, a square blue ground covering in depth five stripes. In the centre of the blue, one white star.

*Seal.* — A dove on the wing, with an open scroll in its claws. A view of the ocean, with a ship under sail. The sun, just emerging from the waters. A palm-tree, and at its base a plough and spade. Beneath the emblems, the words REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA, and above the emblems, the national motto, THE LOVE OF LIBERTY BROUGHT US HERE.

The former seal of the Commonwealth is ordered to be used until that for the Republic shall be engraved.

By order of the convention.

S. BENEDICT,  
*President.*

## INAUGURAL ADDRESS

OF HIS EXCELLENCY J. J. ROBERTS, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF  
LIBERIA.

*Delivered at the first meeting of the Legislature of the Republic, Jan. 3, 1848.*

---

FELLOW-CITIZENS, — Before I proceed to add the solemnity of an oath to the obligations imposed on me, it is with great pleasure I avail myself of the occasion, now presented, to express the profound impressions made on me by the call of my fellow-citizens to the station and the duties to which I am now about to pledge myself. So distinguished a mark of confidence, proceeding from the deliberate suffrage of my fellow-citizens, would, under any circumstances, have commanded my gratitude and devotion, as well as filled me with an awful sense of the trust to be assumed. But I feel particularly gratified at this evidence of the confidence of my fellow-citizens, inasmuch as it strengthens the impression on me, that my endeavors to discharge faithfully the duties which devolved on me as Chief Executive officer of the Commonwealth, during the last six years of our political connection with the American Colonization Society, have been favorably estimated. I nevertheless meet the responsibilities of this day with feelings of the deepest solicitude. I feel, fellow-citizens, that the present is a momentous period in the history of Liberia; and I assure you, under the various circumstances which give peculiar solemnity to the crisis, I am sensible that both the honor and the responsibility allotted to me are inexpressibly enhanced.

We have just entered upon a new and important career. To

give effect to all the measures and powers of the government, we have found it necessary to remodel our Constitution and to erect ourselves into an independent State, which, in its infancy, is exposed to numberless hazards and perils, and which can never attain to maturity or ripen into firmness, unless it is managed with affectionate assiduity and guarded by great abilities. I therefore deeply deplore my want of talents, and feel my mind filled with anxiety and uneasiness to find myself so unequal to the duties of the important station to which I am called. When I reflect upon the weight and magnitude now belonging to the station, and the many difficulties which, in the nature of things, must necessarily attend it, I feel more like retreating from the responsible position, than attempting to go forward in the discharge of the duties of my office.

Indeed, gentlemen of the Legislature, if I had less reliance upon your co-operation and the indulgence and support of a reflecting people, and felt less deeply a consciousness of the duty I owe my country, and a conviction of the guidance of an all-wise Providence in the management of our political affairs, I should be compelled to shrink from the task. I, however, enter upon the duties assigned me, relying upon your wisdom and virtue to supply my defects, and under the full conviction that my fellow-citizens at large, who, on the most trying occasions, have always manifested a degree of patriotism, perseverance, and fidelity, that would reflect credit upon the citizens of any country, will support the government established by their voluntary consent, and appointed by their own free choice.

While I congratulate my fellow-citizens on the dawn of a new and more perfect government, I would also remind them of the increased responsibility they too have assumed.

Indeed, if there ever was a period in the annals of Liberia, for popular jealousy to be awakened, and popular virtue to exert itself, it is the present. Other eras, I know, have been marked by dangers and difficulties which "tried men's souls;" but, whatever was



their measure, disappointment and overthrow have generally been their fate. That patriotism and virtue which distinguish men of every age, clime, and color, who are determined to be free, never forsook that little band of patriots — the pioneers in this noble enterprise — in the hour of important trial. At a time when they were almost without arms, ammunition, discipline, or government, — a mere handful of isolated Christian pilgrims in pursuit of civil and religious liberty, surrounded by savage and warlike tribes bent upon their ruin and total annihilation, — with “a staff and a sling” only, as it were, they determined, in the name of the “Lord of Hosts,” to stand their ground, and defend themselves to the last extremity against their powerful adversary. And need I remind you, fellow-citizens, how signally Almighty God delivered them, and how he has hitherto prospered and crowned all our efforts with success?

These first adventurers, inspired by the love of liberty and equal rights, supported by industry and protected by Heaven, became inured to toil, to hardships, and to war. In spite, however, of every obstacle, they obtained a settlement, and happily, under God, succeeded in laying here the foundation of a free government. Their attention, of course, was then turned to the security of those rights for which they had encountered so many perils and inconveniencies. For this purpose, a constitution, or form of government, anomalous, it is true, was adopted.

Under the circumstances, expediency required that certain powers of the government should be delegated to the American Colonization Society, their patrons and benefactors, with the understanding, that, whenever the colonies should feel themselves capable of assuming the whole responsibility of the government, that institution would resign the delegated power, and leave the people to the government of themselves.

At that time it was scarcely supposed, I presume, that the colonies would advance so rapidly as to make it necessary, or even desirable, on the part of the colonists, to dissolve that connection



within the short space of twenty-five years. Such, however, is the case. Necessity has demanded it.

Under the fostering care of the American Colonization Society, these infant settlements soon began to prosper and flourish; and a profitable trade, in a few years, opened an intercourse between them and the subjects and citizens of foreign countries. This intercourse eventually involved us in difficulties with British traders, and, of consequence, with the British Government, which could not be settled, for the want of certain powers in the government here, not provided for in the Constitution. Nor, indeed, would the British Government recognize in the people of Liberia the rights of sovereignty — “such as imposing custom dues and levying taxes upon British commerce” — so long as their political connection with the Colonization Society continued. Under these circumstances, a change in our relations with the Society, and the adoption of a new constitution, were deemed, by a large majority of the citizens of the Commonwealth, absolutely necessary. Such also was the opinion of the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society, who recommended the measure as the only means of relieving the government from these embarrassments, and the citizens from innumerable inconveniences.

In view of these facts, to have shrunk from the responsibility, notwithstanding weighty reasons adverse to the measure suggested themselves, would have betrayed a weakness and timidity unbecoming freemen.

Therefore, on full consideration of all the circumstances, it appeared that the period had arrived when it became the duty of the people of Liberia to assume a new position, — such a one that foreign powers would consider them an independent nation.

As you are aware, fellow-citizens, the independence of Liberia has been the subject of much speculation and some animadversion, both at home and abroad.

1st. We are told that the pecuniary assistance the government here has hitherto received from the Colonization Society will now

cease; and that in a few years we will find ourselves groaning under enormous taxes, or the affairs of the government will be exceedingly embarrassed, if not totally paralyzed.

I am persuaded, however, that this conclusion by no means follows. To what extent, if at all, the Society contemplates withdrawing the pecuniary aid hitherto granted to the Commonwealth, from the new government, I am not advised; nor have I any data upon which to form even an opinion in regard to it. We have this assurance, however, from Rev. Mr. McLain, Secretary of the Society, "that the interest of the Board of Directors, in all that concerns the people of Liberia, will not be diminished, but rather increased, by the alteration in the present relations subsisting between them and the American Colonization Society; and that it is the intention of the Society to prosecute its work as vigorously as heretofore, and on the same high and liberal principles."

We are truly, fellow-citizens, under many obligations to the Colonization Society. Indeed, it is impossible for one people to have stronger ties upon the gratitude of another than that Society has upon the people of Liberia.

To the wisdom, philanthropy, and magnanimity of the members of the Colonization Society, who, for more than a quarter of a century, have watched with the deepest solicitude the progress of these colonies, and have devoted much of their time and substance to support them, we owe, under God, the political, civil, and religious liberty and independence we this day enjoy; and I have no doubt in my own mind, but that they will continue to aid us in every way the circumstances of the Society will admit of.

The necessity of imposing additional taxes upon the people to meet the additional expenses of the government consequent upon the new order of things, is very evident; but I confess, fellow-citizens, I can see no just grounds of fear that they will be enormous or oppressive.

It is true, that for the first few years, in the absence of any foreign assistance, we may find our finances somewhat limited, per-

haps barely sufficient to defray the ordinary expenses of the government ; but in a country like ours, abounding in a sufficiency of natural resources, which are so easily developed, it is scarcely probable that the government at any time will be greatly embarrassed, certainly not totally paralyzed.

2d. It has been urged that the numerical strength of the government is yet too small ; and that we have not sufficient intelligence, experience, or wealth, to command respect abroad ; and that, in the event foreign powers should refuse to acknowledge our independence, the embarrassments of the government and its citizens will be increased, rather than diminished.

Now, according to the best computation I am at present able to make, and which I believe is pretty nearly correct, the population of Liberia Proper — including, of course, the aboriginal inhabitants who have incorporated themselves with us, and subscribed to the constitution and laws of the Republic — is now upwards of eighty thousand ; and we may reasonably suppose that the inhabitants will increase almost in the ratio of compound interest. I have no doubt that the natural population of the Republic, in the course of twenty years, will be doubled ; and we have great reason to believe that the number of immigrants arriving from America, and perhaps other countries, will be very considerable. The free people of color in the United States, wearied with beating the air to advance themselves to equal immunities with the whites in that country, and tired of the oppression which weighs them down *there*, are seriously turning their attention to Liberia as the only asylum they can flee to and be happy.

While we exceedingly lament the want of greater intelligence and more experience to fit us for the proper or more perfect management of our public affairs, we flatter ourselves that the adverse circumstances under which we so long labored in the land of our birth, and the integrity of our motives, will plead our excuse for our want of abilities ; and that, in the candor and charity of an impartial world, our well-meant, however feeble, efforts will find

an apology. I am also persuaded that no magnanimous nation will seek to abridge our rights, or withhold from the Republic those civilities and "that comity which marks the friendly intercourse between civilized and independent communities," in consequence of our weakness and present poverty.

And, with respect to the independence of Liberia, I know it to be a favorable object with many great and good men, both in Europe and the United States, and, I have great reason to believe, with several European powers, who entertain commercial views.

3d. We are gravely accused, fellow-citizens, of acting prematurely, and without due reflection, in this whole matter, with regard to the probable consequences of taking into our own hands the whole work of self-government, including the management of our foreign relations; and I have also heard it remarked, that fears are entertained by some persons abroad, that the citizens of Liberia, when thrown upon their own resources, will probably not sustain the government, and that anarchy and its attendant ruins will be the result of their independence.

The impression, however, that the people have acted prematurely, and without regard to consequences, is evidently erroneous. And, to judge of the future from the past, I have no hesitancy in asserting that the fears entertained respecting the disposition of the people here to insubordination are totally groundless. No people, perhaps, have exhibited greater devotion for their government and institutions, and have submitted more readily to lawful authority, than the citizens of Liberia; which, indeed, must be obvious to every one at all familiar with the past history of these colonies. But to return. It is well known that the object of independence has been agitating the public mind for more than five years, and that every consideration for and against it, has been warmly discussed.

I am sensible, however, it is no uncommon thing for men to be warm in a cause, and yet not know why it is they are warm. In such cases, the passion of one is lighted up by the passion of

another, and the whole circle is in a flame; but the mind in the mean time is like a dark chamber, without a single ray of light to pervade it. In this case it will happen, that, when the hasty passion shall have spent its force, all virtuous and patriotic resolutions which it kindled up will also die with it; as, in the great affairs of religion, a strong flash of ideas on the fancy may excite a combustion of devotion; but, unless the reason is engaged to feed and supply the burning, it will die away, and neither light nor heat will be found remaining in it.

It was the commendation of a certain people of whom we read in the Bible, that, when the gospel was first preached to them, "they searched the Scriptures daily, whether these things were so." Those who, without examination, had received it, without examination might also give it up: but this more "honorable" people had maturely weighed the doctrine; and, embracing it, they gave ground to believe, that as they were rational, so they would be persevering Christians.

The political concerns of Liberia have been equally the objects of attentive consideration. And it affords the most pleasing reflection, that the people of these colonies have not acted rashly or unadvisedly with respect to their independence, but all the measures which have been adopted in regard to it are strongly marked with great caution and matured deliberation, and will bear the strictest scrutiny of reason and conscience.

The time has been, I admit, when men, without being chargeable with timidity, or with a disposition to undervalue the capacities of the African race, might have doubted the success of the colonization enterprise and the feasibility of establishing an independent Christian State on this coast, composed of and conducted wholly by colored men; but, fellow-citizens, that time has passed. The American Colonization Society has redeemed its pledge, and I believe in my soul, that the permanency of the government of the Republic of Liberia is now fixed upon as firm a basis as human wisdom is capable of devising. Nor is there any reason to apprehend



that the divine Disposer of human events, after having separated us from the house of bondage, and led us safely through so many dangers, towards the land of liberty and promise, will leave the work of our political redemption and consequent happiness unfinished, and either permit us to perish in a wilderness of difficulties, or suffer us to be carried back in chains to that country of prejudices, from whose oppression he has mercifully delivered us with his outstretched arm.

And, fellow-citizens, it must afford the most heartfelt pleasure and satisfaction to every friend of Liberia, and real lover of liberty in general, to observe by what a fortunate train of circumstances and incidents the people of these colonies have arrived at absolute freedom and independence. When we look abroad and see by what slow and painful steps, marked with blood and ills of every kind, other States of the world have advanced to liberty and independence, we cannot but admire and praise that all-gracious Providence, who, by his unerring ways, has, with so few sufferings on our part compared with other States, led us to this happy stage in our progress toward those great and important objects. And that it is the will of Heaven that mankind should be free, is clearly evidenced by the wealth, vigor, virtue, and consequent happiness of all free States. But the idea that Providence will establish such governments as he shall deem most fit for his creatures, and will give them wealth, influence, and happiness without their efforts, is palpably absurd. In short, God's moral government of the earth is always performed by the intervention of second causes. Therefore, fellow-citizens, while with pious gratitude we survey the frequent interpositions of Heaven in our behalf, we ought to remember, that as the disbelief of an overruling Providence is atheism, so an absolute confidence of having our government relieved from every embarrassment, and its citizens made respectable and happy by the immediate hand of God, without our own exertions, is the most culpable presumption. Nor have we any reason to expect that he will miraculously make Liberia a paradise, and deliver us

in a moment of time from all the ills and inconveniences consequent upon the peculiar circumstances under which we are placed, merely to convince us that he favors our cause and government.

Sufficient notifications of his will are always given, and those who will not then believe, neither would they believe though one should rise from the dead to inform them. Who can trace the progress of these colonies, and mark the incidents of the wars in which they have been engaged, without seeing evident tokens of providential favor? Let us, therefore, inflexibly persevere in exerting our most strenuous efforts in an humble and rational dependence on the great Governor of all the world, and we have the fairest prospects of surmounting all the difficulties which may be thrown in our way. And that we may expect, and that we shall have, difficulties, sore difficulties, yet to contend against in our progress to maturity, is certain. And as the political happiness or wretchedness of ourselves and our children, and of generations yet unborn, is in our hands, nay more, the redemption of Africa from the deep degradation, superstition, and idolatry in which she has so long been involved, it becomes us to lay our shoulders to the wheel, and manfully resist every obstacle which may oppose our progress in the great work which lies before us. The gospel, fellow-citizens, is yet to be preached to vast numbers inhabiting this dark continent; and I have the highest reason to believe that it was one of the great objects of the Almighty in establishing these colonies, that they might be the means of introducing civilization and religion among the barbarous nations of this country. And to what work more noble could our powers be applied, than that of bringing up from darkness, debasement, and misery, our fellow-men, and shedding abroad over them the light of science and Christianity? The means of doing so, fellow-citizens, are in our reach, and if we neglect, or do not make use of them, what excuse shall we make to our Creator and final Judge? This is a question of the deepest concern to us all, and which, in my opinion, will materially affect our happiness in the world to come. And surely,



if it ever has been incumbent on the people of Liberia to know truth and to follow it, it is now. Rouse, therefore, fellow-citizens, and do your duty like men; and be persuaded that Divine Providence, as heretofore, will continue to bless all your virtuous efforts.

But if there be any among us dead to all sense of honor and love of their country; if deaf to all the calls of liberty, virtue, and religion; if forgetful of the benevolence and magnanimity of those who have procured this asylum for them, and the future happiness of their children; if neither the examples nor the success of other nations, the dictates of reason and of nature, or the great duties they owe to their God, themselves, and their posterity, have any effect upon them; if neither the injuries they received in the land whence they came, the prize they are contending for, the future blessings or curses of their children, the applause or reproach of all mankind, the approbation or displeasure of the great Judge, or the happiness or misery consequent upon their conduct in this and a future state, can move them,—then let them be assured that they deserve to be slaves, and are entitled to nothing but anguish and tribulation. Let them banish forever from their minds the hope of obtaining that freedom, reputation, and happiness, which, as men, they are entitled to. Let them forget every duty, human and divine, remember not that they have children, and beware how they call to mind the justice of the Supreme Being. Let them return into slavery, and hug their chains, and be a reproach and a by-word among all nations.

But I am persuaded, fellow-citizens, that we have none such among us; that every citizen will do his duty, and exert himself to the utmost of his abilities to sustain the honor of his country, promote her interests, and the interests of his fellow-citizens, and to hand down unimpaired to future generations the freedom and independence we this day enjoy.

As to myself, fellow-citizens, I assure you I never have been indifferent to what concerns the interests of Liberia, my adopted country; and I am sensible of no passion which could seduce me know-

ingly from the path of duty or of justice. The weakness of human nature, and the limits of my own understanding, may, no doubt will, produce errors of judgment. I repeat, therefore, that I shall need all the indulgence I have hitherto received at your hands. I shall need, too, the favor of that Being in whose hands we are, who has led us, as Israel of old, from our native land, and planted us in a country abounding in all the necessaries and comforts of life; who has covered our infancy with his Providence, and to whose goodness I ask you to join with me in supplications, that he will so enlighten the minds of your servants, guide their councils, and prosper their measures, that whatsoever they do shall result in your good, and shall secure to you the peace, friendship, and approbation of all nations.

## ANNUAL MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT WARNER,

DECEMBER, 1866.

---

*Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives of the Republic of Liberia:*

THE expiration of another twelve months has brought around the period when it becomes my duty to lay before you a statement of the affairs of the Republic, and to recommend such measures as appear to me calculated to enhance the welfare of the nation. In discharging this duty, I have to invite you to unite with me in rendering unfeigned thanks to our heavenly Father for the blessings with which the past year has been crowned. The immunity we have enjoyed from those epidemic diseases which have been the scourge of other lands, the bountiful harvests that have blessed the labors of the husbandman, the peace that has prevailed, to a great extent, within our borders, are unmistakable marks of divine favor; and for these mercies we should show ourselves grateful by pursuing such a course of conduct as will meet the approbation of the Almighty.

FOREIGN RELATIONS.—Our relations with foreign nations are satisfactory, with the exception of the North-western boundary dispute. This question, which has been pending for the last five years without having yet come to a solution, must be settled before it can be determined which of the two governments—this or Her Britannic Majesty's—is responsible for the numerous atrocities which have been committed, as well as for those which are daily being committed, by the natives in the territories in dispute. The predatory wars waged by the natives in those parts of the country

against the peaceful natives living in close proximity to our settlement at Grand Cape Mount, and to the great detriment of that settlement; the vast amount of merchandise introduced from adjoining provinces without bringing a revenue to this Government; the open rebellion of the natives, instigated by unprincipled traders living within the territories claimed by this Government, — are evils which are likely to continue for a long time, and to affect most injuriously the interests of the Republic, unless this question of boundary be at once set at rest.

The finances of the Government have not been in such a condition as to allow us to occupy those windward territories with civilized settlements, or we might long since have availed ourselves of the surest method of confirming the claim which we have rightfully acquired by fair and honorable purchase.

On this subject, the Government has renewed the correspondence which two years ago was broken off by the brief reply of the British Government to the last requisition of the Liberian Government. And it is to be hoped that the magnanimity and keen sense of justice of the British Government will allow the question to be put at rest speedily and amicably.

I have appointed Monsieur L. Carrance Consul for this Republic, at Bordeaux, in France. I have also granted a commission to Senor Senmartity Brogues as Liberian Consul at Barcelona and Madrid, in Spain. I felt particular gratification in making this latter appointment; and, in a despatch from the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs, we are assured that it was hailed by Her Catholic Majesty's Government as the forerunner of the establishment of friendly and commercial relations between the two countries.

During the year, I have granted my exequatur to Samuel F. McGill, Esq., Consul for Sweden and Norway; also to C. T. W. F. Jantzen, Esq., Consul for Hamburg, at Monrovia.

It is with feelings of inexpressible sorrow that I have to announce to you the death of Abraham Hanson, Esq., late United-States Commissioner and Consul-General, which occurred in the month of

July last, at the legation in Monrovia. The death of Mr. Hanson cast a deep gloom over our community. Never has a foreign functionary stood higher in the estimation of a people than Mr. Hanson did in that of the Liberian, nor succeeded in establishing a better understanding than that which subsisted between Mr. Hanson and the Government to which he was accredited. As a gentleman of Christian character, of kind and benevolent disposition, endearing himself to all who knew him, and as a liberal-minded public functionary, Mr. Hanson justly merited every mark of respect shown to him; and his memory claims a prominent place in the affections of this people.

To fill the office made vacant by the death of Mr. Hanson, the Government of the United States has appointed William A. Johnson, Esq., Vice-Consul General at Monrovia; and I have accorded to him my exequatur.

The Government has been invited to participate in the International Exhibition to be held in Paris during the next year. It will be to me a matter of profound regret if, from any consideration, the Government should be compelled to decline the friendly offer. Such exhibitions tend, to a great extent, to bring into notice the products and commodities of different countries; and considering the limited commerce of Liberia, notwithstanding her vast but undeveloped resources, we should put forth a vigorous effort to improve the opportunity now afforded the country of exhibiting to the world its rich products.

In the latter part of 1864, we made application to the Government of the United States for the purchase of a gunboat. The application was generously responded to, and the sale of a vessel on very liberal terms was provided for.

A treaty of amity and commerce has recently been negotiated between this Republic and the Empire of Austria, which I will lay before the Senate for ratification.

THE MAILS.—The postal convention between this government and that of Great Britain continues in operation. Recent

arrangements provide that the steamers bearing the monthly mails shall touch at Monrovia as well as Cape Palmas. This gives us increased facilities for communicating with foreign countries. But in order to have regular intercourse between our settlements, and to prevent those serious delays which too often occur in the operations of the Government from want of mail carriage, it is necessary that you provide some sure and economical means for conveying the mails to and from the different settlements along the coast.

INTERNATIONAL HOSPITAL.—A proposition has been made to this government, by a wealthy and influential gentleman in France, to establish in this city, under the patronage of our Government, an International Hospital. He petitions for a grant of land suitable for this benevolent object, and a small appropriation to assist in the enterprise. I hope you will take this subject under favorable consideration. The seaport towns all over the civilized world could not give a stronger expression of their appreciation of the severe toil and abundant services of seamen, than by erecting buildings in their respective localities for their accommodation when distressed either from shipwreck, sickness, or other causes. Travellers, also, to this coast, would experience an inexpressible feeling of relief from a knowledge that such an asylum existed for their reception when assailed or wasted by the diseases of the climate.

THE PUBLIC REVENUE.—It is necessary that vigorous measures be adopted and executed in order to enhance the public revenue. It is true there is in the paper currency a marked improvement, which tends greatly to the advantage of the citizens generally; but it cannot be of material benefit to the Government, unless the receipts of the treasury constantly exceed, or at least equal, the expenditures it may be necessary to make to carry on the Government. While I admit that all unnecessary expenditures should be abolished, I am not inclined to favor the opinion that the expenses generally of the Government are a waste, because they make no return in kind for the capital invested. The citizens need protection in the prosecution of their various interests; and



this the Government should not only have the ability to give, but its ability should be so fully known and seen as to render it unnecessary, except in extraordinary cases, to put it to the test.

THE NATIVE TRIBES. — I have for a long time thought that the native tribes residing within the near jurisdiction of the Republic could be brought into closer relationship with us, by being required to contribute to the support of the Government, and by being allowed such a representation in our national council as will easily commend itself to their comprehension. Such a measure inaugurated among these, will induce those tribes more remote to seek to sustain similar relations to us. No desire to exterminate these people and aggrandize their territory brought us here. They are our brethren, deluded though they often appear; and our constitution expressly declares that their improvement is a cherished object of this Government. The Government, then, being for mutual advantage, is one that calls for mutual support. The aborigines should assist in the great work we have to perform. Like the civilized population, they should give something in return for the protection and redress which our courts always, and our armies often, are required to render them. And I doubt not that many of them are now willing to assist; and when they shall have been convinced that the civilization of which the Republic is the nucleus must spread far and wide over this continent, enlightening and refining its inhabitants, and raising them in the scale of being; that it is a work designed by the Almighty himself, and cannot be stayed, — I am sure they will become willing coadjutors.

I therefore recommend that the discretionary powers given to the Executive in the fifth section of an act regulating taxes and licenses, passed by the Legislature in 1858, to require our aborigines to contribute to the support of the Government in such a manner as he shall deem best, be made a positive law, to be enforced in common with other revenue laws. There are in these forests men of royal blood, and of minds susceptible of the most exalted ideas



of systematic and well-balanced government; and, by a proper appreciation of them, they could be made to sustain to us a much nearer and dearer relation than that of being mere contributors to our treasury.

PASSPORTS.—I have also to suggest that, for each passport issued by the Secretary of State, a fee of two dollars be charged, to go into the treasury; that said passport be issued only on the presentation of the treasurer's receipt acknowledging the payment of the fee; and that the receipts be passed quarterly from the Department of State to the Secretary of the Treasury.

Our passport law needs other important amendments. At all times and under all circumstances, the present law allows persons of all characters to obtain passports, simply by giving ten days' notice of their intention to leave the Republic, and paying a fee of fifty cents for each passport. Taking advantage of these easy circumstances under which they can leave the Republic, many of a wilfully thriftless class, whether long in the country or recent comers to it, go to foreign countries only to find the obstacles to be surmounted by indolent persons more numerous than they are in Liberia. In a short time, they become reduced to extremities in the communities they enter. Did they break off their allegiance to the Government of this Republic, we should be saved all further concern about them; but, to avoid the duties and responsibilities of citizens of the new State to which they may have gone, they retain their passports and their allegiance, and in this way, to say the least of it, occasion this Government considerable anxiety, as it is often called upon to relieve its destitute citizens.

PATENTS.—The patent law in force in the Republic should be so amended, as to require every person filing a *caveat* in the patent-office to pay a small fee for the privilege thus secured to him.

PAY OF MEMBERS.—I am fully aware that most men in the public service are already required to make some sacrifice. Still they should always set examples of patriotism, in order that the citizens generally may be induced to second their efforts the more

cheerfully. In this connection, I have again to propose to you a recommendation made during the session of '64,—that each member of the legislature receive for his services a salary, not to exceed the amount to which he would be entitled for a session of a moderate length, at a reasonable pay per diem.

**LICENSE-FEES.**— I have often considered, that, in the administration of the affairs of a nation, justice requires that burdens imposed should be borne equally by the citizens, or in proportion to each man's ability. In our system of licenses, this principle does not operate. There are only three classes of citizens—merchants, lawyers, and auctioneers—who pay a license-fee for being allowed to follow their various vocations. It is not clear to my mind, upon what principle certain classes of our citizens are taxed for procuring a livelihood, while others are exempt. I have on a previous occasion spoken of the propriety of requiring persons following other trades or professions to pay a reasonable license-fee, and I would again bring this subject to your notice.

**MANUFACTURE OF ARDENT SPIRITS.**— There is pursued in the country an occupation which, to say the least of it, brings no good either to proprietors or customers. I refer to the distilling of ardent spirits. We are, it is true, under a free government, with a liberal constitution; and while total prohibition may appear to some as an invasion of the rights of citizens, yet I cannot see upon what principle of political economy or justice the trade in distilling ardent spirits has been encumbered with the lightest tax, while wholesome, unobjectionable occupations pay to support a Government which knows that its people are demoralized, and shuts its eyes upon the fact. Each still erected or in operation in the Republic should pay a tax proportioned to the capacity in gallons of the said still.

It would be very far from fulfilling our mission to this country, that we continue to demoralize the natives by the abundant sale to them of ardent spirits. It seems clear to my mind that, as in the case of individuals, God holds men responsible for thus putting

into the hands of their fellows materials capable of so much harm, inciting them to rapine, murder, and war. So in our case, as a nation, God will not hold us guiltless of this sin which we have been committing to the destruction of our heathen brethren, as well as ourselves; and surely their blood will be require at our hands, and will hold us chargeable for the evils which these tribes commit under the influence of this destructive drink.

The manufacture of ardent spirits, and the traffic in them by other civilized countries, should not be argued by us in justification of the Republic of Liberia engaging in the same thing. The prosperity of those other countries might have been much more abundant and abiding, and there would have been committed in them a less number of murders, had there been in them a total absence of ardent spirits. And may not the secret of the slow progress we are making, compared with the great advantages we have of a fertile soil, a uniformly favorable climate, and the enormous percentage of the yield of our crops, and the evanescent character which the accumulations we make from time to time assume, be attributed to the sin of manufacturing and selling rum? Ardent spirits had much to do with the kidnapping and forcing of our forefathers from their ancient homes to a land of slavery. It caused the opening in that land of many premature graves, which closed over the mangled bodies and broken hearts of the victims of American bondage. We may not hope to escape similar misfortunes and evils, if we persist in manufacturing and selling ardent spirits.

Besides this, the ease with which these natives procure fire-arms and ammunition increases the hostilities, and protracts those bloody struggles in which they engage, but which is our duty to check. The Government of Liberia is the guardian of the tribes which have placed themselves under its jurisdiction; and we should advise, admonish, and gently coerce them into that subjection to law and order which they sometimes appear reluctant to yield. And when our civilized communities so far forget their duty to

these heathen as to place in their hands the instruments of death, encouraging them to lawless and murderous acts, they, too, should be restrained by law. I have, therefore, to recommend the placing of a high duty on the importation of fire-arms, powder, and ardent spirits. These articles are by no means essential to the traffic of the country.

INTERCOURSE WITH THE NATIVES.—There is no subject which more affects the interests of this Government than that of the tribes by whom we are surrounded. It must be admitted that the relation we sustain to these aborigines is very different from that held by any other civilized people to the natives of a barbarous country which they have entered. We often find the circumstances attendant on this relation exceedingly embarrassing. These people are our brethren, and yet we sometimes find them in antagonism to us. And then, again, in their own case, another and very important difficulty arises from the fact, that there are chiefs under our jurisdiction who have laws, which we find it difficult to abrogate at once, conflicting with our statutes; thus keeping their subjects in constant dread of violating our laws on the one hand, and incurring the penalty of their own code on the other.

I have already referred to the propriety of making these tribes understand the necessity of contributing to the maintenance of this government; and I have now to suggest that there be some restriction placed on the intercourse of the civilized settlers with the natives, defining how far that intercourse shall extend, and when and for what purposes it shall be allowed. Many disturbances, and during the present year several of a serious nature, have arisen, resulting from that unlimited intercourse with the natives, which has been continued for years by persons ostensibly engaged in trade, who have gone among these tribes to the demoralizing of themselves and to the great disprofit of the natives.

I am of opinion that persons going among the aborigines to reside should be made to show that they are engaged in some lawful and necessary enterprise, and to give bond and security, to

be renewed from time to time, for their conforming to law and conserving the public peace; and, whenever it might appear that such persons are no longer prosecuting lawful business with the natives, they should be required to withdraw from them; and, for being allowed to prosecute trade among the natives, they should obtain a license, for which they ought to pay a tax proportionate to the amount of capital invested in such native trade.

PRINCE BOYER.—I have to inform you that in the month of June last, Prince Boyer, of Tradetown, seized and detained the Hon. J. M. Horace, at said place. By this act of Boyer, the Government was placed in a serious dilemma. To have attempted to force the exasperated chief while Mr. Horace was in his power, would have endangered the life of the latter; and the conditions proposed by Boyer, on which his prisoner could be released, were such as the Government could not accede to and maintain its dignity, and preserve the majesty of our laws.

The Government sent a note to Boyer, requiring him to set Mr. Horace at liberty. Mr. Horace has been released. Boyer, however, gives the following ground of grievance: 1st, That an annuity promised him in 1849, and fixed by law, has not been regularly paid him; 2d, That, after he had become reconciled to the port-of-entry law, the domestic trade was interdicted to him, simply because it was rumored by his native enemies that he was contemplating a descent upon the settlements in Grand Bassa County; 3d, That his confessions of repentance for the wrong he had done, by refusing, when commanded to do so, to surrender the goods of foreigners detained by him, were spurned by the Legislature; 4th, That his officers, while on a peaceful mission to the Government, were detained at Grand Bassa, and stripped of their insignia; 5th, That a present which he sent to the Government as an assurance of peace, was seized at Bassa; 6th, That the passage of the law interdicting the domestic trade seemed to be a last resort to crush him; 7th, That Senator Horace, by coming within the territory interdicted, violated the law which he himself assisted to make, and that he,



Boyer, under the circumstances, could not but act according to the natural impulse of a man. He has written to the Government, earnestly imploring a removal of the interdiction.

On the other hand, it is clear that the tribes within our jurisdiction have no right to indulge in the spirit of reprisals which they manifest either towards ourselves or each other. When they have complaints against the laws or any proceedings of the Government, they should set forth their grievances in a proper manner. And no men know better the force and virtue of law than some of the powerful chiefs who preside over these tribes. Neither Boyer nor any other chief has any right to execute our laws, or to set up his authority against the majesty of the Republic.

But these chiefs and their subjects have, undoubtedly, certain rights, both natural and political, which should be highly respected by this Government and people. And when this is done, and the natives are not provoked by us to the commission of lawless deeds, or instigated by dishonorable foreigners to insubordination, there will subsist between us and them a permanent good understanding and the greatest cordiality of feeling.

**MURDER AT SETTRA KROO.**—Sometime in the month of October last, one James Douglas, of Greenville, Sinou, was wantonly murdered at Settra Kroo, by a native of that place. Immediately after intelligence of the tragical affair reached the Government, I sent down to Sinou a proclamation, interdicting all intercourse with Settra Kroo until such time as satisfaction should be given for the murder committed. By the vessel bringing the legislators to this city, I received a communication from the King and head men of Settra Kroo, assuring the Government that the murderer shall be delivered up to justice as soon as he can be placed in the hands of the Nanna Kroo natives.

**SEIZURE FOR VIOLATING REVENUE LAW.**—Presuming upon another illustration of the might of the British naval force on this coast over the just rights of the Republic, one J. M. Harris, a subject of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, who has for some

time kept a trading establishment at Solyma contrary to the laws of the Republic, arrogantly sent, a few weeks ago, his vessel into the little Cape Mount River to prosecute a trade with the aborigines of that place, as if to see how far and with how much impunity he could contravene the laws of the Republic. It will be remembered that this vessel is one of the two that were brought into this port from Solyma by the gunboat "Quail," in 1860, to be tried for trading at that place contrary to our revenue laws, but were forcibly taken out of our harbor by Her Britannic Majesty's cruiser "Torch." The vessel, having been seized by order of the Government, has been brought to this port, and now lies in the river awaiting the investigation of her case by the proper authorities.

**PROPOSAL FOR A BANK.**—In connection with the subject of finance, I have further to inform you that the plan proposed by Messrs. McFarlan & Co., of London, for transacting financial business for this Government, and which was adopted by you at your last session, has not been acted upon by that firm; they preferring to operate on a totally different basis, merging their proposal into the plan of a bank, of which the details will be duly laid before you.

**CODIFICATION OF THE LAWS.**—The revision and compilation of our statute laws, which are at present in such inconvenient publications, require your authorization. I have to solicit an appropriation for this object.

**EDUCATION.**—During the year, Liberia College has continued in operation. The Preparatory Department, under the care of Mr. H. R. W. Johnson, has given the greatest satisfaction in the training of its scholars.

In connection with this I am happy to inform you, that we have intelligence from the United States of a growing and active spirit of emigration to Africa among the blacks. In a week or two, some five or six hundred will probably be landed on our shores. The Attorney General of this Republic, now on his way home, made an interesting tour, during the last summer, over a portion



of the Western States ; and he assures us, that, from what he has witnessed among the blacks with whom he came into contact, a steady stream of emigration has just begun. We are doubtless all glad to receive such intelligence. But the question that occurs to every thoughtful mind is, Can Liberia, with her feeble institutions, take up and absorb safely this influx of our down-trodden brethren, unaccustomed as they are to the duties and responsibilities of building up new States? I answer, without hesitation, that we can. But it becomes us, as legislators, and executors of law, to make provisions to guard and perpetuate more effectually the liberties of our country. And, among the provisions necessary, a most important, and, indeed, indispensable one, is the establishment of an efficient common-school system. We have in our statute books many laws referring to common schools, but they need revision and consolidation. Depend upon it, unless this matter is attended to, our free institutions will be in danger. Let knowledge be generally diffused, and we need not fear the debates and discussions which periodically take place among us as to our political affairs.

But the diffusion of education among us will, for some time, be dependent chiefly upon legislative action in the establishment and maintenance, throughout the country, of common schools. The Government must here, as in other countries, take this subject into its hands, — a subject which, to my mind, involves the whole matter of what is generally termed popular education, comprising not only schools established by the Government, but also mission schools in our townships or within our jurisdiction.

SYSTEM OF COMMON SCHOOLS.—By having the education of the people under some system—I mean something like the following—so as always to keep the subject of education prominently before the people:—

1. Let the different counties be divided into school districts, and let the people in those districts be taxed to provide school-houses and help to support the schools, the Government furnishing a certain amount.

2. Let a Secretary of Education be appointed, to regulate the educational interests of the country, in connection, if thought advisable, with a committee of Council. All appointments of instructors to common schools to be made by the Secretary, with the advice of the Council; and no teacher to be appointed without a certificate of capability from recognized examiners, *i.e.*, any of the professors in Liberia College, or any other well-known instructor.

3. School teachers to be examined twice a year by the Secretary of Education or his deputy.

4. Provision to be made for schools for girls, in which, besides mere book learning, they may be taught domestic economy and general habits of industry. This is a sore and pressing need of Liberia.

5. Children of the aborigines in our settlements and their neighborhood to have the same rights to education as emigrants; and the Government to have the right to establish schools in purely heathen districts.

Our brethren who flee from the United States to this country for freedom, find, on arriving here, a large and superabundant freedom; but they lose the advantages of enlarged education afforded them in their native country, — advantages which, since the war, have been increasing in various parts of the United States. It is therefore meet and proper that in a system of common schools, such as I have just referred to, efficiently established, they should find some compensation for the sacrifices they have voluntarily made.

PENSION RECOMMENDED. — Before closing this statement, I would request for Jonas Carey a stated pension during his lifetime. He is one of the only three male pioneers of Liberia surviving, and connecting the present with the past. He took part in the memorable battle of Dec. 1, 1822, on the issue of which depended the question whether Christian civilization should be established on this coast by black colonists from America, or not. He

is now aged and feeble, and deserves whatever aid or patronage the government can render him.

CONCLUSION. — And now, in conclusion, I beg to assure you of the cordiality and cheerfulness with which I will co-operate with you in any measure for the promotion of the public weal. In all your deliberations, fail not to keep steadily before your mind the great object we should all have in view, viz — the vindication, up-building, and honor of the negro race, and the opening up of this great continent to civilization and religion. Keeping this elevated and glorious aim always before you, your labors will be considerably lightened, and harmony, peace, and fraternal feelings will mark your whole intercourse during the session.

D. B. WARNER.

MONROVIA, Dec. 6, 1866.

## CHIEF MAGISTRATES OF LIBERIA.

---

THIS table is believed to include the names of all persons who were ever authorized to act as chief magistrates of Liberia. The original plan was, that an agent appointed by the Colonization Society should be the chief magistrate, and an agent appointed by the Government of the United States should have the care of the recaptured Africans: but the same person often held both offices; and there seems to have been an understanding, that, when either agent was absent, his duties should devolve on the other. After the adoption of the constitution proposed by Mr. Gurley, August, 1824, the duties of the Society's agent, in his absence, devolved on a vice-agent, elected by the people. After July, 1836, the Society's agent was styled governor, and the vice-agent, lieutenant governor. Since the Declaration of Independence, in 1847, presidents have been elected by the people. The names of all who are known to have acted as chief magistrates by authority from the Society or by popular election are placed in SMALL CAPITALS. The names of agents of the United States Government, who may have sometimes acted in that capacity, are placed in other type. The dates are given with as much completeness as has been practicable. Two agents of the Society and two of the Government died before the removal from Sierra Leone to Cape Mesurado; but their names none the less deserve to be retained. The names of physicians appointed by the Government or the Society, who may have acted as agents in case of necessity, are also given.

Dr. SAMUEL A. CROZER.—Instructions dated Dec. 10, 1819; sailed Feb. 6, 1820; died April 15, 1820.

Rev. Samuel Bacon.—Appointed Jan. 8, 1820; sailed Feb. 6, 1820; died May 21, 1820.

John P. Bankson.—Sailed Feb. 6, 1820; died May 13, 1820.

Rev. DANIEL COKER, emigrant.—Appointed by Dr. Crozer, just before his death; he was the Society's agent at Campelar, and at Fourah Bay, Sierra Leone, where he remained when the other colonists removed to Cape Mesurado.

Rev. Ephraim Bacon.—Sailed Jan. 23, 1821; returned 1821.

Jonathan B. Winn.—Sailed Jan. 23, died Aug. 25, 1821.

Rev. JOSEPH ANDRUS.—Sailed Jan. 23, died July 28, 1821.

CHRISTIAN WITLBERGER.—Sailed Jan. 23, 1821; returned June 4, 1822.

Dr. ELI AYRES.—Appointed July 25, 1821; acquired Cape Mesurado Dec. 15, 1821, and removed the colonists thither; appointed United-States Government agent, May 15, 1822; returned June 4, 1822; sailed again May 24; and returned December, 1823.

ELIJAH JOHNSON, emigrant.—Appointed by Dr. Ayres as Society's agent during his absence, from June 4, 1822.

Rev. JEHUDI ASHMUN.—Agent for the Society and the Government, sailed May 20, 1822; appointment confirmed, under the new constitution, August 1824; sailed, on his return, March 25, 1828; died Aug. 25, 1828.

Rev. R. R. GURLEY.—Agent of the Society and Government, arrived Aug. 13, 1824; confirmed Ashmun's authority, under a new constitution, and returned Aug. 22, 1824.

Dr. John W. Peaco.—Arrived March 26, 1826; returned 1826.

Dr. George P. Todsen.—Appointed June, 1827; afterwards appointed Society's physician, Nov. 17, 1830, to 1834.

Rev. LOT CARY, emigrant.—Vice-agent, administered from Mr. Ashmun's departure, March 25, 1828; died Nov. 8, 1828.

Rev. COLSTON M. WARING, emigrant.—From Nov. 8 to Dec. 22, 1828.

Dr. RICHARD RANDALL.—Appointed by the Society Sept. 8, and by the Government October, 1828; arrived Dec. 22, 1828; died April 19, 1829.

Dr. JOSEPH MECILIN.—Appointed assistant agent and physician Oct. 17, 1828; succeeded Dr. Randall April 19, 1829; appointed agent Sept. 14, 1829; appointed Government agent to succeed Dr. Randall; returned May, 1830; sailed again October, 1830; returned July, 1832.

Dr. J. W. ANDERSON.—Appointed assistant agent and physician Jan. 1, 1830; arrived Feb. 27; died April 20, 1830.

ANTHONY D. WILLIAMS, emigrant.—Vice-agent, administered in Dr. Mechlin's absence in 1830, and after his departure in 1832.

Rev. JOHN B. PINNEY.—Appointed Oct. 24, 1833; from ill health, transferred his duties to Dr. Skinner in the summer of 1834.

Dr. EZEKIEL SKINNER.—Sailed as Society's physician June 21, 1834; appointed agent Jan. 26, 1835; returned late in 1836; again appointed physician Oct. 27, 1837.

ANTHONY D. WILLIAMS.—Formerly vice-agent, succeeded Dr. Skinner in 1836.

THOMAS BUCHANAN.—Appointed governor, Dec. 10, 1838, on the union of the settlement of the New-York and Pennsylvania Societies with the Commonwealth of Liberia. Also United-States Government agent. Arrived April 1, 1839; died Sept. 3, 1841. The last white chief magistrate.

Dr. J. W. LUGENBEEL, Society's physician, and Government agent. Appointed by the Society July 27, 1843; sailed Sept. 16, 1843; returned May, 1849.

JOSEPH J. ROBERTS, emigrant.—Succeeded Gov. Buchanan, as lieut.-governor, Sept. 3, 1841; appointed governor Jan. 20, 1842; administered till the organization of the Republic, Jan. 3, 1848.

JOSEPH J. ROBERTS, emigrant, president, 1848 to 1856.

STEPHEN A. BENSON, emigrant, president, 1856 to 1864.

DANIEL B. WARNER, emigrant, president, 1864.



## GOVERNORS OF MARYLAND IN LIBERIA.

Dr. JAMES HALL. — Founder and first governor. Appointed by the Maryland Colonization Society, October, 1833; sailed Nov. 23, 1833; purchased Cape Palmas, the site of the colony, by treaty, Feb. 13, 1834; resigned, and returned July, 1836. Dr. Hall had been assistant physician in Liberia from October, 1831, to June, 1833. As early as 1832, he urged the appointment of colored governors.

Dr. O. W. HOLMES, temporary agent, a few months from June, 1836.

JOHN B. RUSSWURM, emigrant. — Appointed 1836; died June 9, 1851.

Dr. SAMUEL F. MCGILL, emigrant. — Succeeded Gov. Russwurm in 1851; administered to June, 1854.

WILLIAM A. PROUT, emigrant. — Elected governor under the new Constitution of the colony as an independent state. Inaugurated, June 6, 1854; administered till April, 1856.

BOSTON J. DRAYTON, emigrant. — As lieutenant governor, he succeeded Gov. Prout in April, 1856, and administered till the annexation of the State to the Republic of Liberia, March 3, 1857.

## GOVERNORS AT BASSA COVE.

Rev. Rufus Spalding. — The New-York Colonization Society, Dec. 13, 1833, while he was on his voyage to Liberia as a missionary, appointed him as their special agent to plant a new settlement under their auspices. He arrived at Monrovia Dec. 31, 1833; had the ordering of the erection of mission buildings at Bassa Cove, but was unable, from sickness, to visit that place. He returned in May, 1834.

Israel W. Searle. — Appointed by the same Society as sub-agent, Feb. 17, 1834. He was instructed to consult with Mr. Spalding as to a location for the proposed settlement, and to direct their

attention to Cape Mount and Bassa Cove. He sailed June 23, 1834, and died in a few weeks after his arrival. That Society had already sent out a few emigrants.

EDWARD Y. HANKINSON. — Appointed by the Pennsylvania Colonization Society; sailed Oct. 24, 1834, with emigrants to found a colony at Bassa Cove. The two Societies were then negotiating on terms of co-operation.

THOMAS BUCHANAN. — Appointed by the united Societies; arrived at Monrovia Jan. 1, 1836.

Rev. JOHN J. MATTHIAS. — Appointed by the united Societies; arrived Aug. 4, 1837; returned, landing at New-York June 17, 1838.

Dr. WESLEY JOHNSON. — Succeeded Gov. Matthias as acting governor; administered till all the settlements were united under Gov. Buchanan in 1839.

#### MISSISSIPPI COLONY AT SINOU.

Rev. JOSIAH F. C. FINLEY. — Appointed by the Mississippi Colonization Society; sailed April, 1837; robbed and murdered by natives, while on a journey, September, 1838. The settlement was united with the Commonwealth of Liberia in 1839.

TABLE OF EMIGRANTS SETTLED IN LIBERIA BY THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

Number.	Names of Vessels.	Date of Sailing.	Massachusetts.	Connecticut.	New York.	New Jersey.	Pennsylvania.	Delaware.	Maryland.	Dist. Columbia.	Virginia.	North Carolina.	South Carolina.	Georgia.	Alabama.	Mississippi.	Louisiana.	Tennessee.	Kentucky.	Ohio.	Indiana.	Illinois.	Missouri.	Michigan.	Iowa.	Wisconsin.	Texas.	Ind. Territory.	Barbadoes.	Total.	Total by Years.
1	Elizabeth	Feb. 1820	..	..	40	..	33	..	2	2	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	86	86
2	Nautilus	Feb., '21	..	..	..	..	..	8	..	..	25	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	33	33
3	Strong	June, '22	..	..	..	..	12	25	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	37	37
4	Osvego	Mar., '23	..	..	..	..	19	24	..	..	17	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	60	60
5	Fidelity	June, '23	..	..	..	..	1	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	65
6	Cyrus	Jan., '24	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	103	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	103	103
7	Hunter	Jan., '25	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	62	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	66	66
8	Vine	Jan., '26	..	32	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	126	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	32	150
9	Indian Chief	Feb., '26	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	..	12	126	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	150	182
10	Doris	Feb., '27	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	..	7	72	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	92	92
11	Doris	Nov., '27	..	..	14	..	2	65	22	..	22	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	102	102
12	Randolph	Dec., '27	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	27	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	27	27
13	Nautilus	Jan., '28	..	..	..	..	..	12	..	..	8	143	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	163	222
14	Harriet	Jan., '29	..	..	..	..	..	17	2	125	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	147	163













TABLE OF EMIGRANTS — CONTINUED.

Number.	Names of Vessels.	Date of Sailing.	Massachusetts.	Rhode Island.	Connecticut.	New York.	New Jersey.	Pennsylvania.	Delaware.	Maryland.	Dist. Columbia.	Virginia.	North Carolina.	South Carolina.	Georgia.	Alabama.	Mississippi.	Louisiana.	Tennessee.	Kentucky.	Ohio.	Indiana.	Illinois.	Missouri.	Michigan.	Iowa.	Wisconsin.	Texas.	Ind. Territory.	Barbadoes.	Total.	Total by Years.
108	Euphrasia.....	Nov., '54	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	151	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	168	..	
109	Gen. Pierce.....	Dec., '54	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	54	..	..	..	17	3	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	82	553	
110	Cora.....	May, '55	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	..	34	..	..	..	..	..	..	13	52	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	106	..	
111	Cora.....	Nov., '55	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	21	..	..	1	..	..	..	31	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	53	..	
112	Lamartine.....	Dec., '55	..	4	1	7	13	11	7	..	..	..	1	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	48	..	
113	Elvira Owen.....	May, '56	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	4	..	57	41	..	85	2	14	..	42	67	..	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	321	..	
114	M. C. Stevens..	Dec., '56	6	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	103	13	..	56	3	1	..	13	19	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	217	538	
115	M. C. Stevens..	May, '57	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	10	125	..	..	1	..	..	23	42	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	207	..	
116	M. C. Stevens..	Dec., '57	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	33	..	117	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	163	370	
117	G. T. Ackerly..	Jan., '58	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	
118	M. C. Stevens..	May, '58	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	18	63	..	7	..	..	..	14	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	108	..	
119	Morgan.....	Oct., '58	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	
120	M. C. Stevens..	Nov., '58	20	..	..	..	..	3	..	9	..	4	8	3	..	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	53	..	
121	Homer.....	Dec., '58	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	
122	Rebecca.....	April, '59	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	35	..	..	..	..	..	42	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	42	..	
123	M. C. Stevens..	May, '59	..	..	..	..	..	24	..	1	..	10	24	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	99	..	
124	Mendt.....	May, '59	..	..	..	44	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	44	..	
125	M. C. Stevens..	Nov., '59	..	..	..	1	..	11	..	1	..	19	..	5	..	..	..	1	21	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	63	248	



TABLE OF EMIGRANTS — CONTINUED.

Number.	Names of Vessels.	Date of Sailing.	Massachusetts.	Rhode Island.	Connecticut.	New York.	New Jersey.	Pennsylvania.	Delaware.	Maryland.	Dist. Columbia.	Virginia.	North Carolina.	South Carolina.	Georgia.	Alabama.	Mississippi.	Louisiana.	Tennessee.	Kentucky.	Ohio.	Indiana.	Illinois.	Missouri.	Michigan.	Iowa.	Wisconsin.	Texas.	Ind. Territory.	Barbadoes.	Total.	Total by Years.
144	Edith Rose.	Mar, '66						4																							4	
145	Gokonda.	Nov, '66											262	194					144												600	
146	Edith Rose.	Dec, '66						14																							14	
147	Forest Oak.	Dec, '66	3																												3	
Totals			63	36	55	295	77	337	9	580	109	3733	1371	722	1341	105	551	309	870	675	56	83	65	83	1	5	7	16	9	346	11,909	

RECAPITULATION.

Massachusetts	63	Kentucky	675
Rhode Island	36	Ohio	56
Connecticut	55	Indiana	83
New York	295	Illinois	65
New Jersey	77	Missouri	83
Pennsylvania	337	Michigan	1
Delaware	9	Iowa	5
Maryland	580	Wisconsin	7
District of Columbia	109	Texas	16
Virginia	3,733	Indian Territory	9
North Carolina	1,371	Barbadoes	346
South Carolina	722	Total	11,909
Georgia	1,341	NOTE. — The number of Recaptured Africans sent to Liberia by the Government of the United States, not embraced in the foregoing table, 5,722.	
Alabama	105		
Mississippi	551		
Louisiana	309		
Tennessee	870		

“Freemen” ..... 753  
 From Barbadoes, W.I. .... 346  
 Unknown ..... 68  
 Total ..... 11,909

The Maryland State Colonization Society has settled at “Maryland in Liberia” ..... 1,227  
 Total ..... 13,136

## COST OF AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

The following Table will show the Annual Receipts of the American Colonization Society during the fifty years of its existence.

YEARS.	RECEIPTS.	YEARS.	RECEIPTS.
1817-9.....	\$14,031 50	1853.....	\$82,458 25
1820-2.....	5,627 66	1854.....	65,433 93
1823.....	4,758 22	1855.....	55,276 89
1824.....	4,379 89	1856.....	81,384 41
1825.....	10,125 85	1857.....	97,384 84
1826.....	14,779 24	1858.....	61,820 19
1827.....	13,294 94	1859.....	160,303 23
1828.....	13,458 17	1860.....	104,546 92
1829.....	20,295 61	1861.....	75,470 74
1830.....	26,683 41	1862.....	46,208 46
1831.....	32,101 58	1863.....	50,900 36
1832.....	43,065 08	1864.....	79,454 70
1833.....	37,242 46	1865.....	23,633 37
1834.....	22,984 30	1866.....	59,375 14
1835.....	36,661 49		<hr style="width: 20%; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/>
1836.....	33,096 88		\$2,141,507 77
1837.....	25,558 14		
1838.....	10,947 41	The Maryland State So-	
1839.....	51,498 36	ciety, since its organiza-	
1840.....	56,985 62	tion, received.....	\$309,759 33
1841.....	42,443 68		
1842.....	32,898 88	The New-York State So-	
1843.....	36,093 94	ciety and Pennsylvania	
1844.....	33,640 39	Society, during their	
1845.....	56,458 60	independent condition,	
1846.....	39,900 03	received.....	95,640 00
1847.....	29,472 84		
1848.....	49,845 91	The Mississippi Society,	
1849.....	50,332 84	during its independent	
1850.....	64,973 71	operations, received...	12,000 00
1851.....	97,443 77		<hr style="width: 20%; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/>
1852.....	86,775 74	Making a total to Janu-	
		ary 1, 1867.....	\$2,558,907 10



## ORIGINAL MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY.

---

H. Clay,	John Lee,
E. B. Caldwell,	Richard Bland Lee,
Tho. Dougherty,	D. Murray,
Stephen B. Balch,	Robert Finley,
Jno. Chalmers, Jun.,	B. Allison,
Thos. Patterson,	B. L. Lear,
John Randolph of Roanoke,	W. Jones,
Robt. H. Goldsborough,	J. Mason,
William Thornton,	Mord. Booth,
George Clarke,	J. S. Shaaf,
James Laurie,	Geo. Peter,
J. I. Stull,	John Tayloe,
Dan'l Webster,	Overton Carr,
J. C. Herbert,	P. H. Wendover,
Wm. Simmons,	F. S. Key,
E. Forman,	Charles Marsh,
Ferd'no. Fairfax,	David M. Forest,
V. Maxey,	John Wiley,
Jno. Loockerman,	Nathan Lufborough,
Jno. Woodside,	William Meade,
William Dudley Digges,	William H. Wilmer,
Thomas Carberry,	George Travers,
Samuel J. Mills,	Edm. I. Lee,
Geo. A. Carroll,	John P. Todd,
W. G. D. Worthington,	Bushrod Washington.







DATE DUE

~~JUN 15 1989~~  
JUN 15 1989

GAYLORD

PRINTED IN U. S. A.





